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ABSTRACT

Two papers in this report document that as the percentage of African American students and students of color has risen in the Milwaukee Public Schools, funding per pupil has plummeted compared to funding in predominantly white suburban districts. It underscores that school funding reform is not only an educational necessity, but also a matter of civil rights and racial justice. The two papers are: "The Return to Separate and Unequal: Metropolitan Milwaukee School Funding through a Racial Lens" (Michael Barndt and Joel McNally) and "Nicolet vs. Custer: How Unequal School Funding Affects Education" (Joel McNally). The five response essays are: "Securing Our Future: Eliminating Wisconsin's Educational Disparity" (Gwendolynne Moore); "Separate and Unequal Education Is Thriving in Milwaukee" (William Lynch and James Hall); "The Struggle Continues: African Americans and the Quest for Educational Equity" (Diane Pollard); "Urban Schools are a Regional Responsibility" (John A. Powell and Vina Kay); and "Beyond Equity to Adequacy" (Whitney Allgood and Richard Rothstein). An appendix presents methodology and graphs. (Contains 22 figures). (SM)

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The Return To Separate And Unequal

Metropolitan Milwaukee School Funding Through a Racial Lens

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Printed copies are $5 each plus $2.50 shipping and handling. Contact:
Rethinking Schools
1001 E. Keefe Ave.,
Milwaukee, WI 53212
414-964-9646; 800-669-4192
fax: 414-964-7220
rethink@execpc.com

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Executive Summary

The Return to Separate and Unequal: Metropolitan Milwaukee School Funding Through a Racial Lens

Rethinking Schools is pleased to present the report The Return to Separate and Unequal: Metropolitan Milwaukee School Funding Through a Racial Lens.

Race is at the core of education issues in urban areas such as Milwaukee. As this study shows, it also is an essential element in the widely unequal funding between schools in Milwaukee and in surrounding suburbs.

The Return to Separate and Unequal underscores that school funding reform is not only an educational necessity. It is a matter of civil rights and racial justice.

Half a century after the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed separate and unequal schools based on race, the Milwaukee area has firmly returned to both separate and unequal education.

The report documents that as the percentage of African-American students and students of color has risen in the Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS), funding per pupil has plummeted compared to funding in overwhelmingly white suburban districts.

The state of Wisconsin is constitutionally responsible for providing public education. Yet the state not only tolerates the funding gulf between Milwaukee and its suburban counterparts, it has instituted policies that allow the gap to widen.

We believe this report is particularly timely given a New York State judge's decision Jan. 10 that that state's method of financing public schools was illegal not only on state constitutional grounds, but because it disproportionately hurt students of color and thus violated federal civil rights laws. The ruling specifically noted the unequal funding in New York City, where more than 70 percent of the state's students of color live. Milwaukee accounts for approximately 50 percent of public school students of color in Wisconsin and 71 percent of African-American students in the state.

In the Milwaukee area, a few key figures tell the story:

• In 1980-81, when the white and African-American populations in MPS were roughly equal, Milwaukee's "shared costs per pupil" were only $127 below the suburban average.

• By 1998-99, when MPS had become a majority African-American district with about 80 percent students of color overall, Milwaukee's "shared costs per pupil" were $1,254 below the suburban average.

If an MPS school of 1,000 students had received the suburban

average in 1998-99, it would have had $1.25 million more to spend that year. The district, with a student population of about 100,000, would have received $125 million more.

Shared costs per pupil have dropped so precipitously in Milwaukee that MPS, which two decades ago spent significantly above the state average, now spends $506 per pupil below the state average.

Lifting state-imposed revenue caps is a necessary first step to provide budgetary relief; by itself, however, it will not fix the spending gap. Using the local property tax, Milwaukee would have to increase its school tax levy by more than 75 percent to match the suburban school funding average — in essence trading tax injustice for school funding injustice.

Modernizing the state's school funding policies is the only solution. As MPS faces another year of belt-tightening and budget cuts, it is essential that policy discussions focus not only on spending money wisely, but on securing the additional resources that MPS needs and deserves.

Discussions on school finance often use different comparisons. This report uses "shared costs" per pupil. This is partly because the state uses "shared costs" as the basis for determining general aid to schools. Further, "shared costs" allow one to more accurately compare spending between Milwaukee and the suburbs and to eliminate differences based on Milwaukee's disproportionately high percentages of low-income students and students with special education needs or with limited English language skills. "Categorical funds" designed to help pay for such extraordinary educational needs, but which often are used to compensate for inadequate general funding, are not included in shared costs.

Unfortunately, the spending gulf between Milwaukee and its suburbs is only the latest twist in a long history of separate and unequal education in Milwaukee.

The dual school system found unconstitutional in Milwaukee in 1976 differed from today's system primarily in scale. Instead of isolating individual African-American schools within a district, as was the case a quarter century ago, the current system isolates and underfunds an entire school district.

The Return to Separate and Unequal lays to doubt any question about whether MPS "deserves" significantly more money. The answer is an unequivocal "yes."

Any other answer legitimizes white privilege and further entrenches a system under which MPS and its students of color are denied the funding given to students in predominantly white districts.

Sincerely,

Bob Peterson, Kathy Swope, and Barbara Miner
on behalf of ***Rethinking Schools***
January 15, 2001

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The Return to Separate and Unequal

Metropolitan Milwaukee School Funding Through a Racial Lens

BY MICHAEL BARNDT AND JOEL MCNALLY

The failure of Wisconsin school funding policies to reduce disparities between richer and poorer districts is more than an issue of economic and educational fairness in the Milwaukee metropolitan area. It is an issue of civil rights and racial justice.

The state not only tolerates an enormous gulf between the resources provided Milwaukee's urban students of color compared to their wealthier and whiter suburban counterparts; state funding policies also allow that gap to widen every year. As a result, separate and unequal school systems based on race — outlawed in this country half a century ago — are being re-established within the Milwaukee area with the state's approval and active participation.

Racial motivation, conscious or unconscious, is suggested by the fact that two decades ago, when the percentage of whites and African

As the percentage of students of color in Milwaukee has increased, the spending gap with the suburbs has dramatically widened. If MPS had received the suburban average in 1998-99, it would have received an additional $125 million.

Americans in MPS was nearly equal, spending per student was nearly equal for MPS and its suburbs, and both spent significantly above the state average. Twenty years later, after MPS was transformed into a district serving primarily students of color and into the state's only district with a majority of African-American students, MPS spends significantly less than the suburban average and even less than the state average.

During the 1998-99 school year, MPS spent $1,254 per student less than the suburban average, based on the state's "shared cost per member." If MPS had invested in education at the same level as the suburbs, each class of 30 students would have received $37,620 more; each school of 1,000 students would have received $1.25 million more; and the MPS system, based on an enrollment of 100,000 students, would have received $125 million more per year. If MPS had received as much as "high-wealth" suburbs, it would have received $156.6 million more a year.

The disparity between MPS and its suburbs is so severe that even if the state's spending caps were lifted — a necessary first step to allow school districts to meet their immediate educational needs — and MPS had to rely on the property tax to close the spending gap, MPS would have to increase its tax levy by more than 75 percent to meet the suburban average, and by almost 100 percent to match high-wealth suburbs — a political impossibility.

These are among the major findings of a research project on metropolitan school funding commissioned by *Rethinking Schools*, a Milwaukee-based education reform journal, with a grant from the Poverty and Race Research Action Council. The districts studied include those within a 5-mile distance of Milwaukee, representing the suburban communities most tied to the metropolitan economy. It also represents those districts taking part in the Chapter 220 integration program between Milwaukee and its suburbs.

Enrollment in MPS in 1998-99 was almost 80 percent students of color: 61.4 percent African-American, 13.3 percent Latino, 4.1 percent Asian, and 1 percent Native-American, according to state figures. Only 20.2 percent of the students were white, down from a majority white district in the 1970s before court-ordered desegregation. The percentages are adjusted to take into account the more than 5,000 students of color who live in Milwaukee but are enrolled in suburban schools under Chapter 220.

Enrollment of students of color has remained low in every other district in the metropolitan area. Enrollments of students of color in 1998-99 in the suburbs averaged 14.4 percent and ranged from about 5 percent to 27 percent. Almost half of them were students living in Milwaukee but attending suburban schools under Chapter 220. (See Figure 1, page 23.)

The driving force behind the widening gap in educational resources for urban students of color and suburban whites is the explosion of property valuation through the 1980s and 1990s in Milwaukee's sub-

Key Findings

- **Half a century after the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed separate and unequal schools based on race, the Milwaukee area has returned to both separate and unequal education.**
- **As the percentage of students of color in Milwaukee has increased in the last two decades, the spending gap with overwhelmingly white suburbs has dramatically widened.**
- **If MPS had received the suburban average in "shared costs" in 1998-99, it would have received an additional $125 million (based on 100,000 students). A school of 1,000 students would have received $1.25 million more.**
- **State school funding policies not only tolerate the spending gulf but allow it to widen further.**
- **Merely lifting revenue caps will not fix the spending gap. Milwaukee would have to increase its school tax levy by more than 75 percent to match the suburban school funding average — in essence trading tax inequity for school funding inequity.**
- **Modernizing state school funding policies is the only solution; it is a matter not only of educational necessity but of civil rights and racial justice.**

urbs, but not in the city. The enormous amount of residential and commercial property valuation behind each student has enabled white suburban school districts to raise much greater amounts of school funds than MPS, with only slightly higher tax levies.

But it is the state's failure to modernize its funding to keep pace with widening differences in property values — and the state funding formula's failure to accomplish its stated goal of reducing financial and educational disparities — that condemns MPS students to every year fall further behind the white students of suburban districts in educational resources.

Discussions of school finance often use slightly different numbers as a basis for comparing districts. This report uses the "shared cost per student" figure from the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction's annual report, "Basic Facts." The data used are the most recent available. (See pages 20-22 for more information.)

The "shared cost" figures are used to focus on the spending for an "ordinary" student in each district. Excluded are federal and state categorical aids that are intended to compensate for extraordinary needs such as special education, economic disadvantage, physical disabilities, or English language needs (and which in practice are often used to compensate for inadequate general funding). Because of the disproportionately high number of students with such needs in MPS compared to the

suburbs, figures based on shared costs provide a more reliable comparison with suburban districts. The "shared costs" are also used by the state as the basis for determining general state aid to schools.

Even if one were to include what are known as categorical aids, MPS funding would still be far below that of its suburban counterparts. Looking at Complete Annual School Costs per member, which include categorical funds, Milwaukee spent $808 less per member in 1998-99 than the suburban average — $8,344 compared to $9152. (See Figure 22, page 44.) On a districtwide level, for MPS this came to a gulf of $80.8 million.

Growing Disparity in Funding

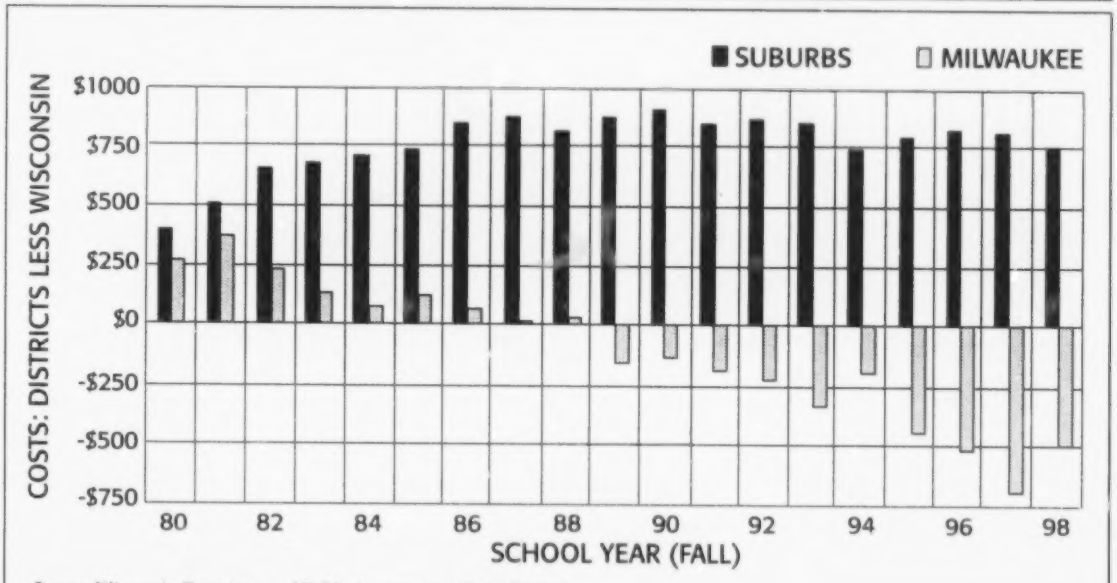
In 1980-81, when the percentage of white students was about the same as the percentage of African-American students in MPS (both about 46 percent), spending per student in both Milwaukee and the suburbs did not differ dramatically; MPS spent $2,611 per student and the suburban average was $2,738 (based on shared cost per student). In addition, both Milwaukee and its suburbs spent significantly more than the state average — for MPS, $265 more.

By 1998-99, when MPS was about 80 percent students of color, the spending per student had plummeted far below both the suburban and state average. While the spending per student in MPS had increased to $6,555, the state average had increased even more, and MPS spent $506 per student below the state average.

What had changed most dramatically was the spending per student in the suburbs. The average spending per student in high-wealth sub-

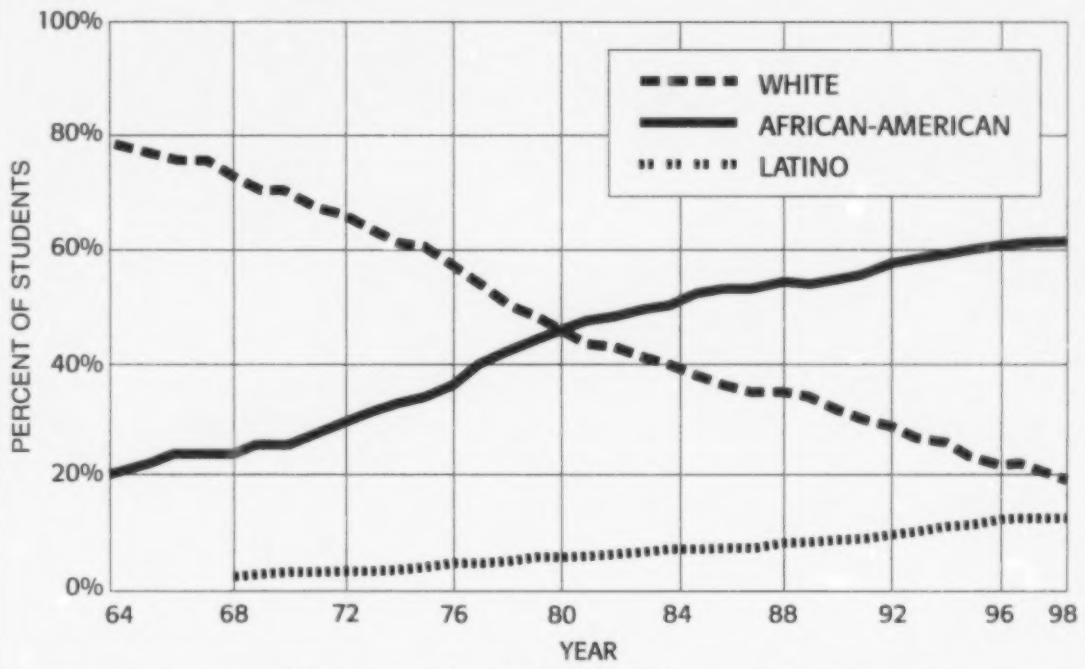
Shared Costs Per Student

COSTS ABOVE OR BELOW STATE AVERAGE



Source: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts."

Racial Balance in Milwaukee Public Schools



Source: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts"; for additional sources and information see page 24.

urbs was $8,121 or $1,566 more than MPS. In medium-wealth suburbs, the average spending per student was about $7,922 or $1,367 more than MPS. Even in low-wealth suburbs, those most closely aligned with MPS, the average spending per student was $7,412 or $857 more than MPS. (See Figures 7-11, pages 29-33.)

Overall, in 1998-99 the cost per student in all Milwaukee suburbs was an average of $7,809, which was $1,254 per student more than MPS.

If MPS had received the same funding as the suburban average, it would have received $125 million more. Such spending would have not only made up for the $32 million that MPS was forced to cut from its budget last year, but would have allowed MPS to expand and improve academic programs. (MPS officials are bleakly predicting significant cuts again this year.) If MPS had received the same funding in 1998-99 as high-wealth suburbs, it would have received $156.6 million more.

While the funding gap between Milwaukee and the state average is a telling indicator of how educational opportunity has changed in the state's largest city, the even larger gap between MPS and its suburbs has the most dramatic impact on educational quality, for example placing MPS at a distinct disadvantage with its nearby neighbors in attracting and keeping high-quality teachers.

Given the vast differences in property wealth, local property taxes cannot make up for the spending gap between Milwaukee and its suburbs. Instead, state school funding policies must be modernized.

Explosion in Property Valuation Favors White Students

The main reason why the suburbs were able to raise much more money per student than the city with only slightly higher tax rates was the amount of property valuation behind each student.

By 1998-99, high-wealth suburbs had a property valuation of $649,927 per student, medium-wealth suburbs $409,878 per student and low-wealth suburbs $306,782 per student. That compared to a property valuation behind each MPS student of only $145,371. (See figure 21, page 43.)

Property taxes are based on a "mill" rate of $1 per $1,000 of property value. A one mill increase on the tax levy in a high-wealth suburb would raise $649 for each student. A one mill increase in Milwaukee would raise $145 for each student.

During much of the 1970s, Milwaukee's tax rates generally were higher than the suburban average. In 1980-81, Milwaukee's school tax levy was 15.39 mills, compared to a suburban average of 11.49. In 1981-82 Milwaukee's rate dropped and was about even with the suburban average of about 12 mills.

During the 1980s, property valuation in the suburbs exploded. By 1998-99, high-income suburbs were able to provide nearly $1,566 more than MPS for each student with a tax levy of 12.3 mills compared to the MPS tax levy of 11.3 mills. In medium-wealth suburbs, the tax levy was about 14 mills and in low-wealth suburbs the tax levy was about 12.7 mills.

Without state equalization funds, if MPS wanted to use property taxes to match the amount raised by the tax levy in a high-wealth suburb, it would have to set its tax levy 10.8 mills higher, or almost double the current levy of 11.3 mills. To reach the suburban average, MPS would have to raise its tax levy by 8.65 mills, or almost 75 percent higher than the current levy.

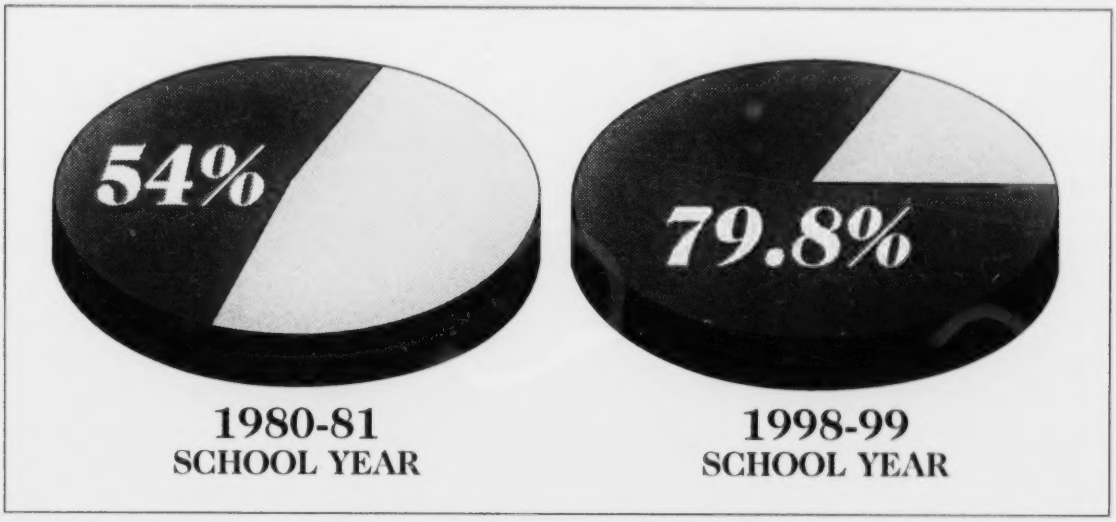
Besides being politically impossible, such a tax levy would place an undue tax burden on Milwaukee residents, since it would represent a much greater proportion of residents' incomes than a similar levy in the suburbs. Milwaukee would be trying to reach school funding equity with the suburbs by instituting outrageously unfair tax policies — in essence substituting tax injustice for school funding injustice.

The Failure of Equalization

Under the Wisconsin constitution, the state is responsible for providing public education. Schools in the state are funded primarily through local property taxes and state monies, including what are known as state equalization funds. Although public education is not a federal responsibility, schools also receive federal funds for specific purposes.

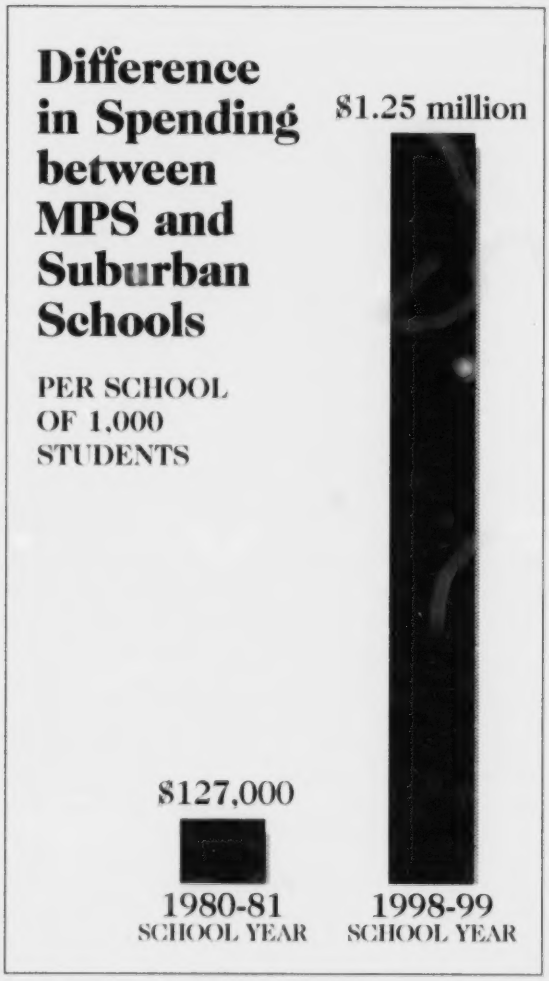
The rhetoric of the state's equalization plan is that it is intended to eliminate differences among districts in ability to raise funds, while still allowing local communities to spend more on education if residents

Milwaukee Student of Color Population



Difference in Spending between MPS and Suburban Schools

PER SCHOOL OF 1,000 STUDENTS



Source: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts." Calculations based on shared costs per student, with a difference between MPS and its suburbs in 1980-81 of $127 per student, and in 1998-99 of $1,254 per student.

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The Spending Gulf

- In 1980-81, when the white and African-American populations in Milwaukee were roughly equal, Milwaukee's "shared costs per pupil" were:
  - $265 above the state average, and
  - $127 below the suburban average (almost a 5 percent difference)
- By 1998-99, when Milwaukee had become a majority African-American district with about 80 percent students of color overall, Milwaukee's "shared costs per pupil" were:
  - $506 below the state average
  - $1,254 below the suburban average (almost a 20 percent difference)

choose to do so.

In its annual report, "Basic Facts," the state Department of Public Instruction defines equalization as "the process of ensuring a minimum tax base for the support of education for each pupil in Wisconsin, so that districts that spend the same level will tax at the same rate." It also says "the goal of an equalizing formula is to eliminate differences in ability to spend while allowing for variation in willingness to spend for education."

Clearly, neither of those conditions is being met.

The equalization formula provides Milwaukee with more funds than any of its suburbs. But it also permits the growing gap between the amount spent on each city student and each suburban student.

That difference is not simply a reflection of a willingness of suburbs to tax themselves more in order to spend more on education. Instead, it reflects the added power of a one mill tax increase in a suburb with higher property valuation.

Only by adjusting the equalization formula to account for the vast differences in property valuation between city and suburb can the state accomplish its announced goals for equalization funds — to "eliminate differences in ability to spend" between districts and to assure "that districts that spend at the same level will tax at the same rate."

Unfortunately, the only state adjustment to the equalization formula in recent years has benefitted the already advantaged suburbs rather than the city. Through the mid-1990s, because they were able to raise far more funds locally than MPS, high-wealth suburbs received no state equalization funds, medium-wealth suburbs received less than $200 per student and low-wealth suburbs received around $1,500 per student.

Beginning in the 1996-97 school year, as part of a change under which the state picked up two thirds of school funding, the equalization formula was changed so that even the wealthiest districts would begin receiving state funds. High-wealth suburbs began receiving $920 per student, medium-wealth suburbs about $1,772 per student and low-wealth suburbs more than $3,000 per student. That same year, equalization aid to the neediest district, MPS, increased only about $800 per student from $3,600 to $4,400. The state's change in funding not only failed to address the spending gap between Milwaukee and its suburbs, but allowed it to widen. (See Figures 7-11, pages 29-33.)

Lagging Capital Improvements Shortchange MPS Students Further

Not only is less money being spent to educate MPS students, less is also being spent on their classrooms and educational facilities.

Former MPS Supt. Howard Fuller failed in 1993 to get the support of the city's political leaders and business community in a referendum seeking a $366 million dollar program of building and modernizing the city's aging schools.

There were racial overtones to the opposition of white property owners to spending for improved educational facilities for schools where students of color were the majority. In the 1993 referendum, some all-white wards voted up to 93 percent "no," while predominantly African - American wards voted "yes."

The current MPS Neighborhood Schools Initiative includes the first program of major new capital improvements since that failed referendum. With the city's educational facilities seven years older, the plan includes $98.4 million in capital improvements, less than a third of what Fuller proposed.

The gap in facilities is another disparity that continued to widen between city and suburbs throughout the 1990s.

In 1990, when MPS was spending less than $50 per student on debt service for capital projects, the 23 suburbs participating in the Chapter 220 program were spending more than $150 per pupil. By 1998, MPS was spending less than $100 per pupil on debt service for capital improvements, and the Chapter 220 suburbs were spending $500 per pupil. (See Figure 20, page 42.)

It is unclear how the Neighborhood Schools Initiative will affect that imbalance, as other districts may also increase capital spending in the coming years; in the November 2000 elections, for example, a number of suburban districts approved school building referenda. Further, money for the neighborhood schools plan will come from existing revenues for MPS, because the revenue limits were not increased to cover the debt service. When a building project is approved by referenda, in contrast, the revenue limits are increased to allow for the additional debt service.

For the students of color in MPS, attending schools that are inadequately funded is merely a continuation of the long history of racial discrimination and segregation in Milwaukee.

The dual school system found unconstitutional in Milwaukee in 1976 differed from today's system primarily in scale. Instead of isolating individual African-American schools within a district, the current system isolates and underfunds an entire school district.

The Racial Backdrop: MPS as the State's Only Majority African-American District

For the students of color in MPS, attending schools that are inadequately funded and in far worse physical condition than the schools of their white counterparts is merely a continuation of the long history of racial discrimination and segregation in Milwaukee.

It is the kind of unequal treatment and violation of basic constitutional rights that Federal Judge John Reynolds sought to end in 1976 when he ordered Milwaukee Public Schools to desegregate. Racial desegregation of the schools was supposed to provide equality in education for those so long denied educational opportunity. But the courts underestimated the ability of whites to continue to perpetuate racial separation through residential and economic segregation.

The history is closely intertwined between school desegregation in the Milwaukee area and the racial transformation of the state's largest school district into a "majority minority" school system receiving unequal educational resources.

In 1964 — a decade after the U.S. Supreme Court's unanimous *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that outlawed separate schools for whites and African Americans as inherently unequal and unconstitutional — the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, and other local civil rights groups formed MUSIC — the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee. MUSIC was committed to "mass action" to try to force Milwaukee schools to live up to the law of the land, for instance, organizing a school boycott supported by half of the students attending African-American, segregated Milwaukee schools. In December 1965, Atty. Lloyd Barbee filed a desegregation lawsuit in federal court.

Milwaukee's school segregation was tied to the city's history of strict residential segregation. During the 1960s, as Father James Groppi and the NAACP Youth Council marched in the streets for an open housing ordinance, Mayor Henry Maier and the Common Council — by an 18 to 1 vote — consistently opposed it. The lone elected supporter was Ald. Vel Phillips, the council's only African-American member.

The Milwaukee School Board practiced a similar policy of racial containment. When African Americans moved into previously white neighborhoods, school boundaries were moved to keep the African-American students in a predominantly African-American school.

When African-American schools in the central city became impossibly overcrowded, the School Board came up with something called "intact busing." Classes of African-American children and their teachers were bused as a group to a white school, but kept segregated from the white children in that school. The African-American children were even bused back to schools in their own neighborhoods for lunch.

In 1976, Judge Reynolds ruled that the School Board's policy of "containment" had "intentionally brought about and maintained a dual school system." At the time of Reynolds's decision, the Milwaukee

Public Schools were 60 percent white, 34 percent African-American and 6 percent Latino and other minorities. Seventy-three MPS schools were more than 90 percent white, and 31 schools were more than 90 percent African-American.

The Milwaukee School Board and administration bent over backwards in its desegregation plan to make busing for school integration "voluntary" for whites while placing the burden of "involuntary" busing on African-American students. Clearly, however, the racial transformation of MPS from a majority white district to a "majority minority" district was hastened by actions white parents took to avoid having their children attend integrated city schools.

Between 1975, one year before the court order, and 1977, 14,877 white students — one-fifth of the total — left MPS. The percentage of students of color in MPS increased from about 40 percent in the mid-1970s to about 80 percent in 1998-99.

Enrollment of students of color has remained relatively flat in the suburban districts, and currently accounts for about 15 percent of suburban students. A large number of the students of color attending suburban schools are Milwaukee residents transferring to suburban school districts under the state's Chapter 220 program established in 1976 to promote voluntary integration between school districts. The program was expanded in the 1980s as part of the settlement of a lawsuit filed by MPS and the NAACP challenging metropolitan-wide school segregation.

The Chapter 220 program currently transfers about 5,000 students of color living in Milwaukee to 23 suburban school districts and about 500 white suburban students into the city, at state expense. The program more than doubles the percentage of students of color enrolled in many suburban districts.

In recent years, suburban districts have also been accepting a growing number of white students from Milwaukee under the state's Open Enrollment program. The long-term effect of Open Enrollment is unclear, although already Chapter 220 is being reduced in some districts at the same time that Open Enrollment is expanding.

The dual school system perpetuated by the policy of racial containment found unconstitutional by Judge Reynolds differed from today's system primarily in scale. Instead of isolating only majority African-American schools and providing those schools with fewer educational resources, the current system isolates an entire school district and provides the whole district with fewer resources. That district is also the state's only district in which African Americans constitute a majority.

The Burdens of Poverty

A decision by the Wisconsin Supreme Court in July 2000 both upheld the constitutionality of the present state funding system and set a new standard requiring the state to address the additional educational burdens facing poorer school districts such as MPS.

The Wisconsin Supreme Court's new standard calls on the state to take into account "districts with disproportionate numbers of disabled students, economically disadvantaged students, and students with limited English language skills." MPS leads the state in all three categories.

The lawsuit, *Vincent v. Voight*, brought by the Wisconsin Education Association Council and the Association for Equity in Funding representing MPS and more than 100 school districts statewide, argued that wide variations in funding between wealthy and poor districts violate the state constitutional provision that the Legislature must establish public schools that are "nearly as uniform as practicable."

That suit did not specifically raise issues of inequality based on race and potential civil rights violations. It merely challenged whether the Legislature was meeting its constitutional obligation to provide a uniform level of education.

By a 4 to 3 vote, the court upheld the state's current funding as constitutional. The majority said the school districts had failed "to demonstrate that any children lack of basic education in any school district. Merely showing disparities of the financial resources among school districts is not enough in this state to prove a lack of equal opportunity for a sound basic education."

But one justice in the majority, Justice N. Patrick Crooks, then joined the three dissenters to form a different majority, establishing a new standard to determine whether the state was providing an equal opportunity for a sound, basic education.

Poverty and other disadvantages were among the factors the state had to address, those justices said. "An equal opportunity for a sound basic education ... takes into account districts with disproportionate numbers of disabled students, economically disadvantaged students, and students with limited English language skills."

MPS leads the state in all three categories.

The percentage of MPS elementary students eligible for free or reduced lunch, for example, was 81 percent in the 1998-99 school year — more than double the 36 percent eligible in 1975-76, according to MPS data. The number of special education students, meanwhile, has jumped from 9.7 percent in 1987-88 to 15.4 percent in 1998-99. About 4 percent of MPS students are enrolled in bilingual education.

The court's new standard goes beyond simply achieving equalization by closing the financial gap between MPS and its suburbs. It requires the state to provide for the added educational challenges associated with poverty in large urban districts such as MPS. There already is strong evidence that, compared to other states, Wisconsin does a poor job of apportioning its funds on the basis of economic need.

In its report, "Adequate State Financing of Urban Schools," the Council of the Great City Schools analyzed the extent to which Wisconsin and other states target state funding to meet the added costs and educational needs of children in poverty.

Using data from the 1995-96 school year, the council ranked major urban school districts to track the extent to which city schools received state funding equal to their share of the state's poor children. MPS ranked 26th out of 35 large urban school districts, with MPS receiving

only 46 percent of the funds it would receive if state funding were distributed on the basis of poverty and economic need alone. This is about 20 percentage points below the average for the districts studied (The Council of the Great City Schools, "Adequate State Financing of Urban Schools," January 2000).

Lowering Tax Rates Vs. Funding Educational Needs

The MPS School Board also contributed to the metropolitan area funding disparity during the 1990s by emphasizing cutting the local tax levy over funding educational needs.

The primary goal of the state's assumption of more school costs over the past decade was to reduce local tax levies in both city and suburbs from their peaks in 1992.

After the state imposed school spending caps in 1993, however, MPS cut its tax levy much further than high-wealth suburban districts did. MPS cut its tax levy from a peak of 18.3 mills in 1992 to 10.3 mills in 1999. During that same period, high-wealth suburbs cut their tax levies from a peak of 15.3 mills to 12.6 mills.

The difference could reflect a conscious strategy on the part of high-wealth suburbs to keep school spending high. That was made easier, of course, by the higher property valuation in those suburbs that enabled them to raise much more money with only slightly higher rates than MPS.

The spending gap is now widening under the state's revenue caps. Because MPS dropped its rate much more than high wealth suburbs, it is now more severely restricted by the revenue limits, which are based on average state spending plus the Consumer Price Index.

Lifting Revenue Caps Is Only the First Step

Supporters of public education around the state have directed much of their political energy toward lobbying for relief from state revenue caps that tightly limit spending increases in each school district. These caps have forced not only deep cuts in large urban districts with the greatest needs, but also cuts in many rural and suburban districts across the state.

It's understandable that supporters of MPS, along with the Wisconsin PTA and other educational groups, have organized against the state-imposed revenue caps on local school districts. With all the extra educational expenses related to race and poverty in the state's only majority African-American district, the caps have led directly to the painful cutting of necessary programs.

Removing the caps is the necessary first step to providing the additional educational funding that MPS desperately needs. But that alone will not allow MPS to provide the same level of education as white suburban districts.

Only more funds for MPS under a true state equalization formula can

reverse the widening funding gap between the city and suburbs and address the racial inequities under which the "majority minority" MPS district falls further behind its overwhelmingly white counterparts in the suburbs. ■

Michael Barndt is coordinator of the Data Center at the Nonprofit Center of Milwaukee, a group which provides training and technical assistance to local nonprofit groups. He recently retired as associate professor of urban affairs at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Joel McNally is a newspaper columnist and television commentator in Milwaukee. His journalism experience includes a regular column in the Shepherd Express Metro newspaper in Milwaukee and writing for the Milwaukee Journal and the Chicago Tribune.

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Nicolet Vs. Custer

How Unequal School Funding Affects Education

BY JOEL MCNALLY

The first time people drive by the 15-acre campus of Nicolet High School just off the I-43 Expressway in the suburb of Glendale, many probably mistake it for a small private college.

Nicolet officials describe the college preparatory high school as the crown jewel of public education in the Milwaukee area. Every year, between 90 and 95% of its graduates go to college.

Custer High School, a low-slung, 1950s-era school tucked away on four acres off Sherman Blvd. on Milwaukee's Northwest Side, usually doesn't even get mentioned when supporters of Milwaukee Public Schools are extolling the virtues of high-profile city schools such as Rufus King High School or Milwaukee High School of the Arts.

Custer school officials say they are always working to overcome a public perception, shared even by some of their own students, that Custer cannot hope to be as academically successful as more prominent schools.

Yet in 1999-2000, Custer students taking the standardized ACT test matched Brown Deer and Hamilton High Schools to lead all other schools in the county by recording the greatest improvement in test scores over the previous year. Despite such achievements, Custer students say they still hear their school denigrated as Custer Correctional Facility.

Anyone visiting Nicolet and Custer recognizes the differences in the racial and economic backgrounds of the students of the two schools.

In 1998-99, Custer was 93 percent African-American, 4 percent white, 1 percent Latino, and 2 percent "other." Some 68 percent of its students qualified for free or reduced lunch, and 13 percent of its students were classified as special education.

Nicolet was 77 percent white and 23 percent students of color — about half of whom are Milwaukee residents transferring in under the Chapter 220 program. For the current school year, only 4.4 percent of Nicolet students qualified for free or reduced cost lunch, and 9.7 percent were special education students.

Less obvious than the racial and economic differences, but even more important, is the difference in the amount of money each school has to educate its students.

The Nicolet district, with the advantage of having many more highly

motivated students with fewer of the educational obstacles associated with poverty, spent an average of $12,674 in 1998-99 on each student, looking at Complete Annual School Costs (CASC). Custer, with its much greater educational challenges, has much less money to do the job, a districtwide CASC average of $8,344 for each student.

Nicolet: The Best Education Money Can Buy

"If money doesn't make any difference, then why do private and parochial schools and all the proponents of school choice want it?" asks Elliott Moeser, district administrator at Nicolet. "If there are individuals at MPS who say that money doesn't make any difference, that it's really how you organize things, I think that's nonsense. Money makes a difference here at Nicolet, I will tell you."

Moeser is a passionate proponent of more money for MPS as long as it doesn't reduce funding for Nicolet. He also vehemently argues for continuing to expand the educational opportunities of inner-city children through busing at a time when the administration of MPS wants to reduce busing and keep children in their neighborhoods.

"Busing is a tool to bring about educational opportunity," Moeser said. "It's a well-used tool in white Wisconsin that I don't hear a lot of complaining about. But when minority Wisconsin wants to use busing for educational opportunity, then I hear wailing that this is somehow bad or un-American. It's fine if kids want to go to school in their neighborhood. My kids go to a neighborhood school here. But there are some parents who want other educational opportunities."

One of the educational opportunities Moeser wants students of color in the inner city to continue to have is the opportunity to transfer to Nicolet under the state's Chapter 220 program to encourage voluntary integration. Nicolet is rewarded financially for accepting Chapter 220 transfers. During the 1998-99 school year, Chapter 220 aid accounted for more than 65 percent of all the state aid Nicolet received. Despite some legislative hostility toward Chapter 220, Moeser believes the program will ultimately survive because suburban legislators don't want to be responsible for having to raise the local tax levy to make up for the loss of all that state aid.

"There's a component of social engineering going on among the critics, saying that integration is not a valuable tool. I happen to think it is. I happen to think that diversity has been good for Nicolet. Educationally, Nicolet is a strong school district, but I think we're better as people and as community members as a result of the greater diversity of Nicolet" through Chapter 220.

The effects of money at Nicolet can be seen in the hundreds of cool turquoise iMacs lining the seven computer labs and distributed throughout libraries and classrooms, more than 425 computers available for student use. A four-year program will provide a laptop computer for every teacher.

Nicolet vs. Custer

Nicolet

Enrollment in 1999-2000: 1,320
Spending per student 1998-99 in district: $12,674
Complete Annual School Cost; $11,120 Shared Cost.
Built: 1955, with additions in 1962, 1968 and 1989
Total campus area: 15 acres
Total square feet of building: 367,000
Total square feet of library and number of materials: Two libraries, 3,572 square feet and 4,752 square feet, with 45,000 books, videos and other materials.
Computers available for student use: 425
Average class size: 24
Average salary for teachers last year: $52,794
Percentage of last year's graduates who went to college: 92.1%

Custer

Enrollment in 1999-2000: 1,188
Spending per student 1998-99 in district: $8,344
Complete Annual School Cost; $6,555 Shared Cost.
Built: 1956
Total campus area: 4 acres
Total square feet of building: 260,938
Total square feet of library and number of materials: 5,181 square feet with 17,701 books, videos and other materials.
Computers available for student use: 400
Average class size: 25 to 30
Average salary for teachers last year: $47,189
Percentage of last year's graduates who went to college: 46%

But Moeser believes the biggest difference money makes is in the quality of the teaching staff and the size of classes. At Nicolet, 82 percent of the teaching staff have advanced degrees, including four teachers with Ph.Ds.

The average class size overall is 24 students, with some classes much smaller — 17 or 18 — to provide students more individual attention either because they are working at a high level in advanced placement classes or because they need extra help with the basics.

Money also allows Nicolet to greatly expand its academic offerings. The school offers five foreign languages — Latin, Spanish, German, French, and Hebrew.

Perhaps as important as an expanded menu of rigorous academic courses is a wide array of attractive electives to keep high school students interested and motivated. Nicolet offers 35 different art and music classes including photography, photo journalism, graphic design, jewelry design, ethnic music, electronic music, and chamber music.

Sports serve a similar function for many students of keeping them interested and involved in high school. Nicolet has an annual sports budget of more than $530,000 and 25 different boys and girls sports teams, including a coed ski team.

Demond Means was promoted this year to principal of Maple Dale Elementary School in the Nicolet district. Last year he was associate principal of Nicolet, coordinating the Chapter 220 program. He also is a graduate of Riverside High School in Milwaukee.

Means smiles when asked if it's true that Nicolet athletes have a full-time masseuse.

"Well, we do have a trainer. He comes in from about 2:00 to 6:00 every day until the end of practices and attends all the games. He tapes kids up and deals with injuries. I don't know if he's massaging people or not. You know, I'm a product of MPS and we didn't have a trainer. We did our own taping. I remember we had to be really conservative with our tape too. And with school supplies. I think sometimes our kids and our community don't really appreciate everything we have at our fingertips here."

Some of the additional educational opportunities available at Nicolet are so accepted that students don't even seem to realize they are remarkable. Leading a reporter on a tour of the school, Nadia, a Chapter 220 transfer student, passed a display case promoting a student trip to Japan.

"I went on it two years ago," Nadia said. "Next week on Saturday, I'm going to Spain."

Custer: Fighting a Bad Rap

"Our students have gotten a bad rap for a long, long time," said Principal Gail Sanders. Why? "Just because some people figure that a public school in a poor neighborhood in Milwaukee that is largely minority can't be as good as other schools.

"But they are very, very good students. They need to know it more. They need to hear it more. Their parents need to hear it. We have to convince them of it because too often they only hear the negative. The same thing with our teachers. Our teachers hear how bad schools are, and yet they are working late every night. They're here early every morning. They are doing tutoring in the homes. And they never, ever get their praises sung. But that's the kind of staff I have and that's the kind of students I have."

And that's the kind of principal Sanders is.

Other principals may spend most of their time in their offices meeting with other administrators. But a visitor who wants to spend a day with Sanders should be prepared to walk the halls with her every hour or so as she relentlessly spreads her positive motivation not only to students and teachers, but also to administrators, secretaries, security and cleaning staff.

Sanders' constant interaction on a personal level with students and staff continues throughout the day until the end of school when she and other administrators walk to area bus stops with their students to see them off.

Technology is one area in which Custer has consciously kept up with the best of them. In computer labs, the library and classrooms throughout the building, Custer has about 400 computers available for student use, almost as many as Nicolet.

But in an ever-tightening budget, many of the decisions Sanders must make are dictated by making sure all the academic basics are covered

without a lot left over for the kind of attractive electives and wide array of sports that make school more interesting.

Nicolet has 16 separate music courses. Sanders had to struggle to save chorus when she became principal three years ago. This year, she was able to add beginning band, instrumental ensemble and a pep band. Sports at Custer are the basics — football, basketball, track, tennis, golf, volleyball and wrestling. This year a soccer program is being added. No, there isn't a ski team here.

The wrestling program has been the personal mission of Ben Tomes, a young wrestling coach and special education teacher, who on his own time organized an after-school wrestling program for 32 middle school students to try to attract them to Custer.

"It takes a little bit to get kids to come to here," said Tomes. "We're trying to make kids want to come here instead of being told they have to go to Custer. It seems like our behavior problems come from kids who never wanted to be here in the first place. If we can replace 20 kids who don't want to be here with 20 kids who have a vested interest in the building, that is one way to improve."

Attendance is another one of those problems that a school such as Nicolet doesn't have to worry too much about. By the end of last year, attendance at Custer was about 63 percent. "Sometimes kids give up near the end of the year if they figure they aren't going to pass," Sanders said. "That's the piece we just can't give up on. We have to let them know we want them here."

At the same time, both teachers and administrators have to guard against making assumptions about students based on their backgrounds, Sanders said.

"We've got every family type you can think of," she said. "There are students who could be at Rufus King if they wanted who have chosen to be here. We have students from two-parent, one-parent, and no-parent families. Some of our students who are honor role are making it with very little support just because they are very strong people. Others who aren't on that honor role have very strong people in the home. It just goes across the spectrum."

Like most Milwaukee schools, Custer faced the daunting task of cutting back its budget for the 2000-01 school year, primarily by eliminating positions and ending the behind-the-wheel portion of drivers' training.

However, the success of Custer under Sanders in attracting new students won a reprieve from most of those cutbacks. Because enrollment was higher than expected in September, Custer got additional budget dollars that were used to add three new teaching positions, restore the full drivers' training program, and upgrade library facilities.

Turning a cutback into an expansion was "wonderful," Sanders said. "But with threats of even more cuts in the future, we don't know how long it can last." ■

APPENDIX
Methodology and Graphs

SCHOOL FINANCE IN PERSPECTIVE
An Historical Review

Introduction

School financing is built upon both local resources and a state contribution. State support is intended to provide equity and to insure that all students have access to quality education.

In recent history, the relative positions of schools within the region have changed dramatically.

An analysis of data from a period of more than 30 years demonstrates the basic trends.

Selection of schools

The study compared school districts within 5 miles of Milwaukee. These communities represent the suburban communities most a part of the regional economy. As the Milwaukee area has grown, they have been the beneficiaries of an improved property value base. They are also the districts taking part in the integration program known as Chapter 220.

School expenses

School expenses reported since 1980 are measured using "shared costs." As defined by the state, these expenses include the "net cost of the general fund plus the net cost of the debt-service fund." "Shared costs" exclude "special-project, food-service, and building fund costs." Building fund costs, however, are reflected over time in the cost of repaying the debts incurred. "Shared costs" also exclude the transportation expenses reimbursed by the state.

These data were extracted from the State of Wisconsin, Department of Public Instruction "Basic Facts" publication. Each year, "Basic Facts" reports actual "shared costs" for the preceding year; in other words, the 1998-99 "shared costs" are reported in the 1999-2000 "Basic Facts." Therefore, the "shared costs" data for 1999-2000 are not yet available and the data used in this report are the most recent available.

"Shared costs" are used by the State of Wisconsin as the basis for computing state general aid to schools. For most districts, general aid is equivalent to equalization aid. For the Milwaukee area, general school aids include not only equalization aid but Chapter 220 aids.

While the data since 1980 are based on "shared costs," there is no exactly comparable measure before 1980; nor were statistics compiled in a standardized, regular manner because there were no statewide accounting categories. Before 1980, the school expense data was extracted from bulletins issued by the Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau (now the Public Policy Forum), an independent, non-profit agency. These numbers were derived from the reported budgets of each school district and were more inclusive, usually including almost all expenses. (Again, however, because there were not uniform reporting requirements, definitions sometimes changed from year to year, and the data was not exactly comparable between districts.) The equivalent category in recent years is the "Complete Annual School Cost" (CASC), also reported in the state's "Basic Facts," which includes funds for extraordinary needs such as special education.

It is difficult to compare one school district directly to another. But aggregate trends over time are more susceptible to comparison — whether one uses "shared costs" or CASC. The trend remains the same; the difference is merely the extent of the spending gap.

This report uses "shared costs" for several reasons. First, it is the basis for determing state general aid. Second, because it attempts to reflect the cost of educating an "ordinary" student, it provides a better comparable measure between Milwaukee and the suburban districts. Milwaukee, for example, has a disproportionate and growing number of low-income students, students with exceptional educational needs, and students who do not speak English as their first language. Milwaukee receives "categorical aids" to help pay for these extraordinary needs such as special education. However, there are questions about whether these "categorical aids" are sufficient and whether they are sometimes used to compensate for inadequate general funding.

At the same time, we recognize that "shared costs" is not a perfect figure. Due to the extraordinary needs of an urban district such as Milwaukee, a detailed accounting would likely identify special needs that are folded into and funded by "shared costs." Thus this report's findings are conservative in that they overstate the spending available for an "ordinary" pupil within Milwaukee.

For much of the early period of analysis, educational expenses were similar across most regional school districts. Even in 1982, the Milwaukee district's expenses were slightly higher than a number of others. After that, the difference between Milwaukee spending and the suburban communities began to grow. The average statewide expense had been lower than local districts. More recently, the Milwaukee expenses approached the state average then dropped below it.

Many of the numbers in this report use a "per student" basis. Technically, the Department of Public Instruction refers to such numbers as "per member." The "member" category is an effort by the state to reflect resident, full-time-equivalent students across an entire school

year, rather than reporting numbers based just on the third Friday student count. The numbers for the state's Complete Annual School Costs need to be adjusted for Chapter 220 transfers; the "shared costs" numbers do not need to be adjusted.

Charts

In the charts on pages 34-41, data before 1980 are based on the Bulletin of the Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau (now the Public Policy Forum). Pre-1980 data is referred to as "Community A" for the suburbs (symbolized by a hollow square), and "Milwaukee A" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a hollow triangle). Data after 1980 are based on the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction "Basic Facts." Post-1980 data are referred to as "Community B" for the suburbs (symbolized by a solid square) and "Milwaukee B" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a solid triangle).

Statewide data, represented by a solid line, are consistently available only since 1981; the first complete "Basic Facts" book is in 1981-82. However, since "shared costs" are reported with a year's delay, "shared costs" are available from 1980.

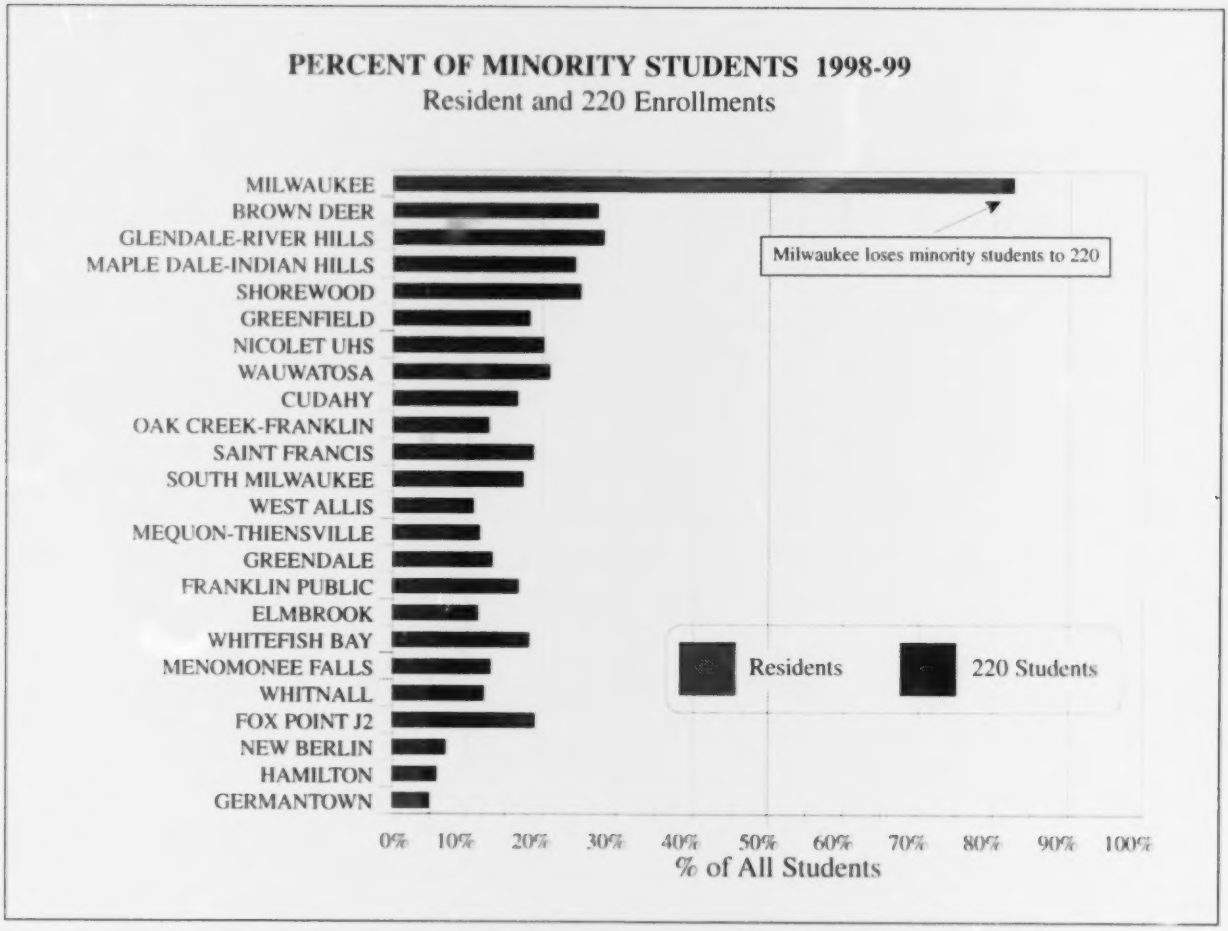
In the charts on equalization aid per student, before 1980 the figures includes some state "categorical funds" but no federal. Post 1980, the figures remove all "categorical funds" and reflect the state's equalization effort.

In the charts on the school tax levy rate, before 1980 the tax levy references were provided by local districts to the Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau and are defined differently than tax levy references in "Basic Facts." Tax levy trends are apparent from 1964 to 1979 and from 1980 to 1998; there is a disconnect, however, between 1979 and 1980 due to reporting differences.

In the charts on property value per student, the values reported by a local community have been consistently adjusted by the state so that the value represents 100 percent of market value. This adjustment is true for all the figures from 1964 to 1998.

Suburbs are divided into "high, "low", and "medium" wealth based on the property value behind each student in 1998-99. For a listing of which suburbs are in which category, see Figure 21 on page 43. ■

Figure 1

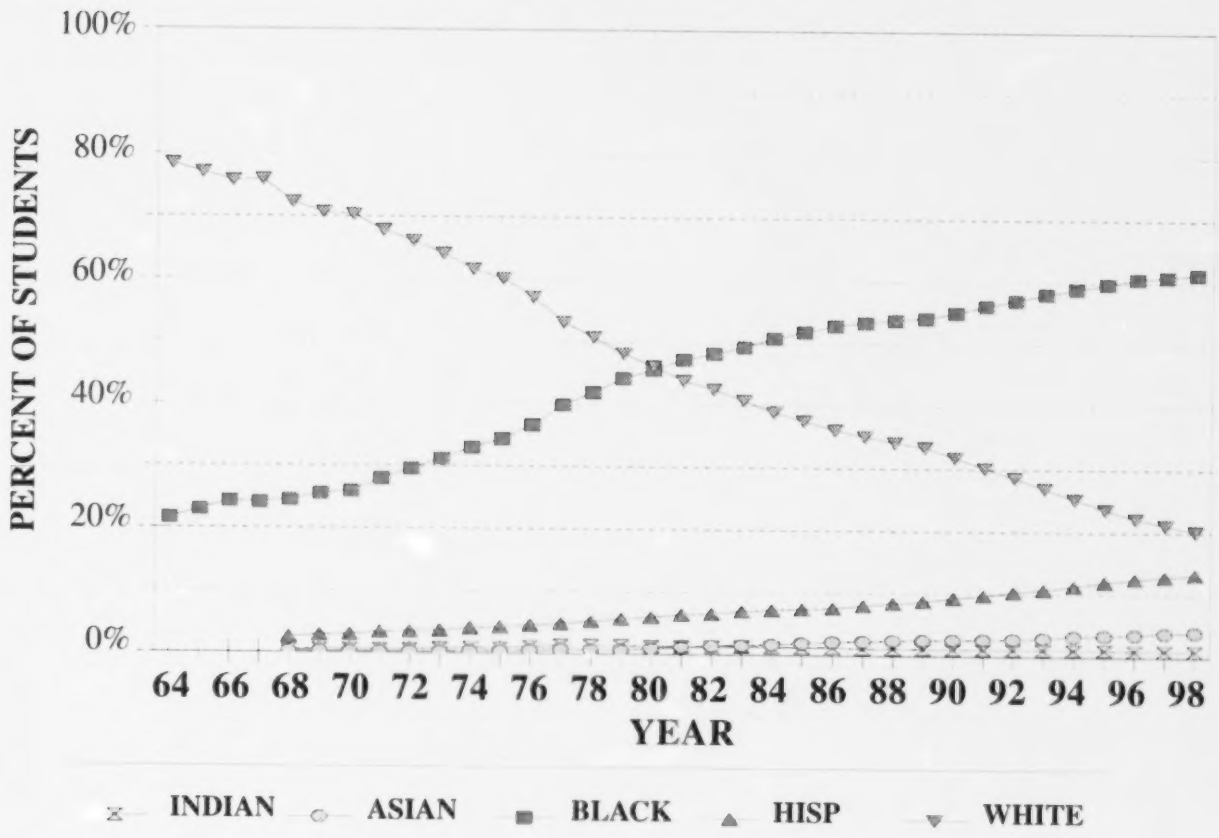


Source: Racial data is from the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts." Chapter 220 data is from the Public Policy Forum annual school report, "Public Schooling in the Milwaukee Metropolitan Area."

In the above chart, the dark portion of the line for Milwaukee represents students that leave the district to attend suburban schools. For all other districts, the dark portion of the line represents students gained.

Figure 2

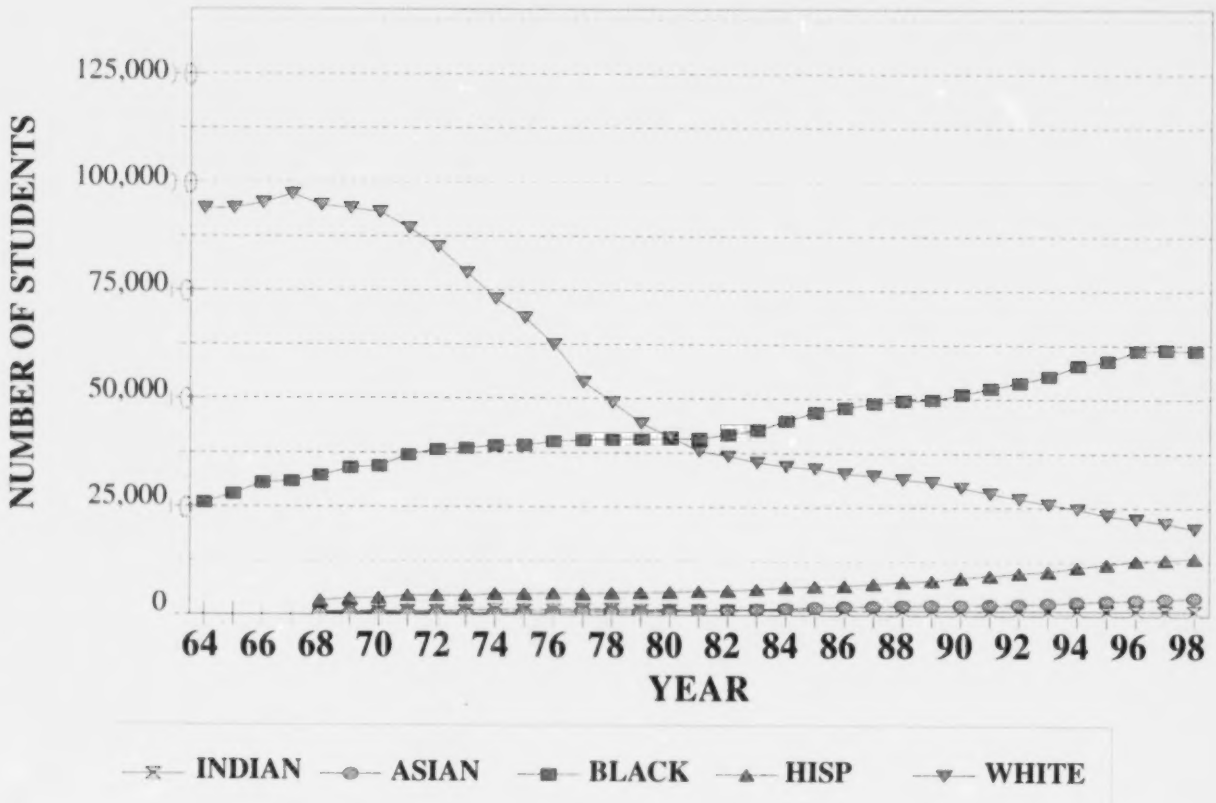
RACIAL BALANCE IN MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOLS



Source: From 1963-64 to 1967-68, Washington and Oliver, "Identification of Strengths in the Black Community" (Milwaukee Urban Observatory, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1976); from 1968-69 to 1977-78 and also 1979-1980, MPS District Demographic and Enrollment Analysis 1992-2004 (Ed McMilin, Division of Facilities and Maintenance Services, December 1999); 1981-82 to 1998-99, Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts," data interpolated for 1978-79 and 1980-81 from above sources.

Figure 3

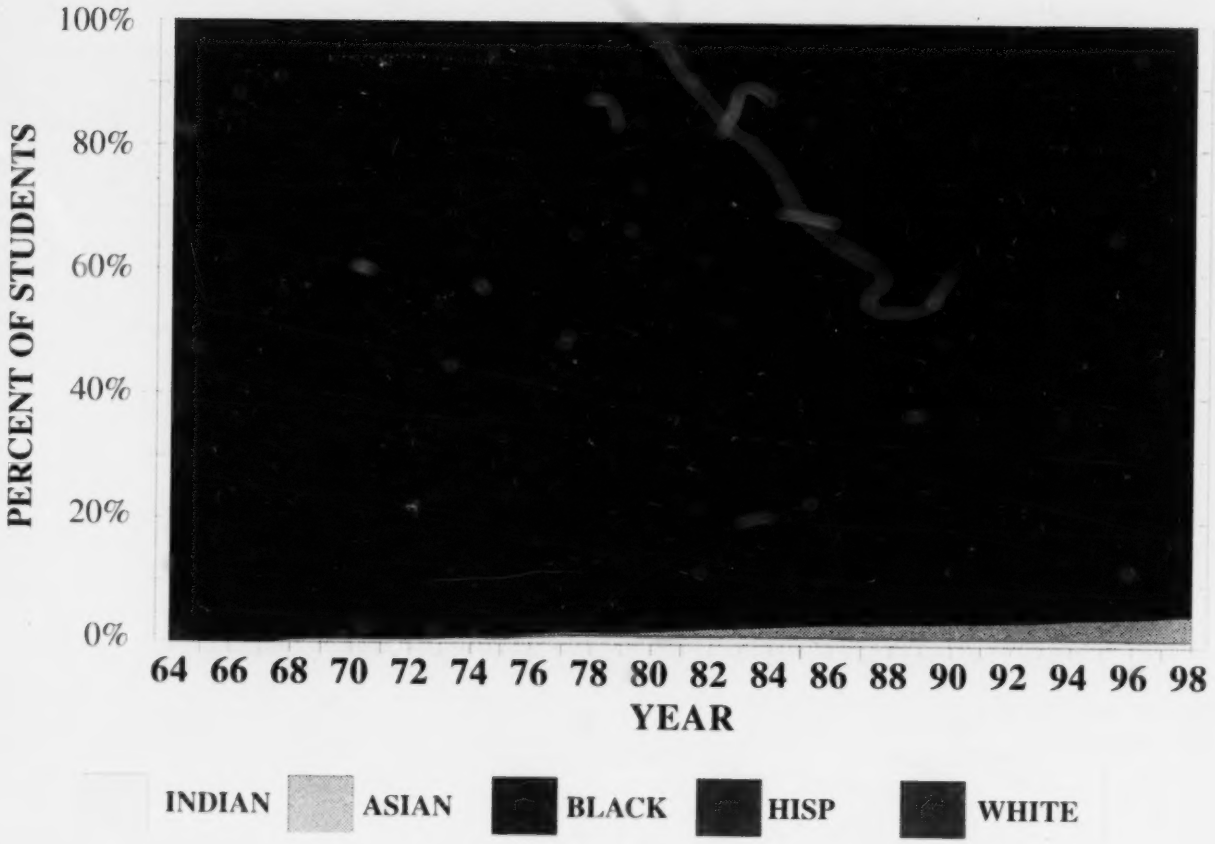
RACIAL BALANCE IN MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOLS



Source: From 1963-64 to 1967-68, Washington and Oliver, "Identification of Strengths in the Black Community" (Milwaukee Urban Observatory, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1976); from 1968-69 to 1977-78 and also 1979-1980, MPS District Demographic and Enrollment Analysis 1992-2004 (Ed McMilin, Division of Facilities and Maintenance Services, December 1999); 1981-82 to 1998-99, Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts," data interpolated for 1978-79 and 1980-81 from above sources.

Figure 4

RACIAL BALANCE IN MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOLS



Source: From 1963-64 to 1967-68, Washington and Oliver, "Identification of Strengths in the Black Community" (Milwaukee Urban Observatory, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1976); from 1968-69 to 1977-78 and also 1979-1980, MPS District Demographic and Enrollment Analysis 1992-2004 (Ed McMilin, Division of Facilities and Maintenance Services, December 1999); 1981-82 to 1998-99, Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts," data interpolated for 1978-79 and 1980-81 from above sources.

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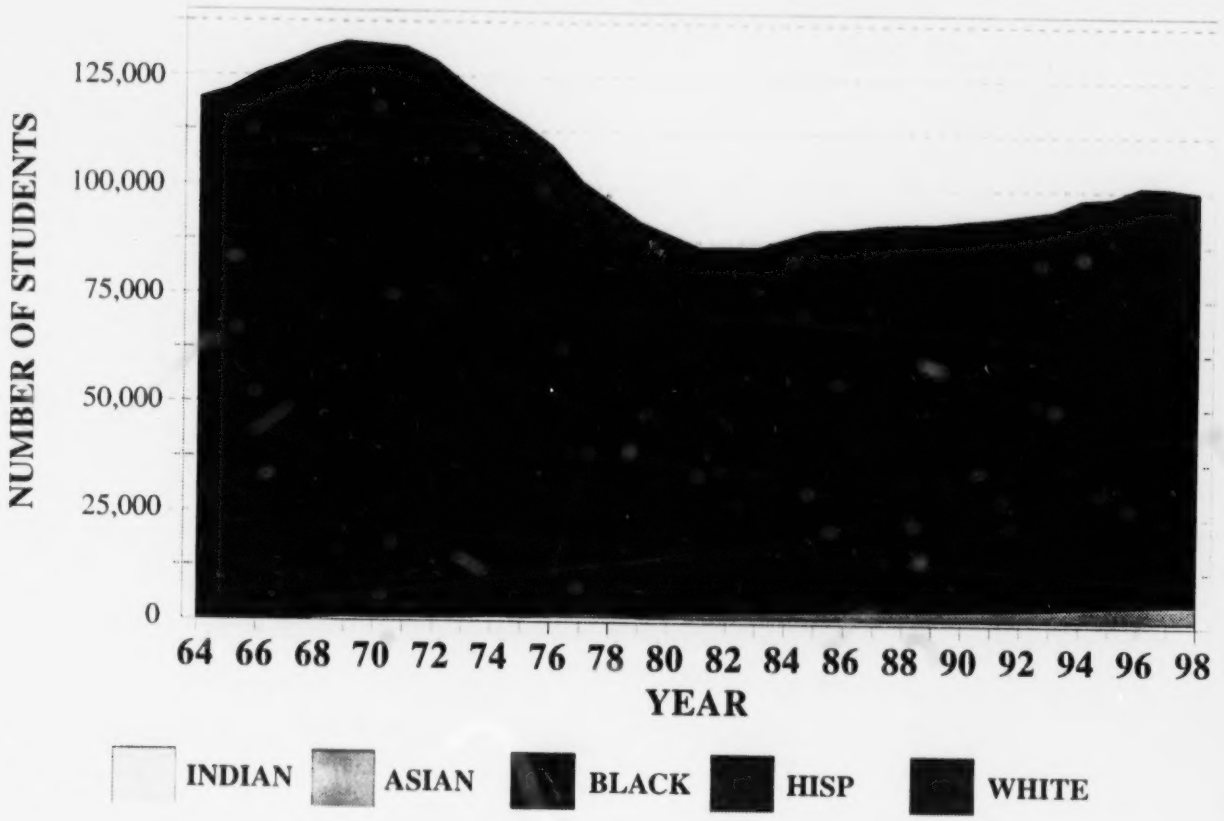
Figure 5

RACIAL BALANCE IN MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOLS



Source: From 1963-64 to 1967-68, Washington and Oliver, "Identification of Strengths in the Black Community" (Milwaukee Urban Observatory, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1976); from 1968-69 to 1977-78 and also 1979-1980, MPS District Demographic and Enrollment Analysis 1992-2004 (Ed McMilin, Division of Facilities and Maintenance Services, December 1999); 1981-82 to 1998-99, Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts," data interpolated for 1978-79 and 1980-81 from above sources.

Figure 6

RACIAL BALANCE IN 1998-99

School District	PK-8	9-12	TOTAL	INDIAN	ASIAN	BLACK	HISP	MINORITY	WHITE	220 OUT	220 IN
BROWN DEER	1,181	571	1,752	9	49	386	35	479	1,273	17	144
CUDAHY	2,068	908	2,976	45	123	122	207	497	2,479	24	199
ELMBROOK	4,891	2,521	7,412	11	396	346	94	847	6,565	33	328
FOX POINT J2	907	0	907	2	29	127	15	173	734	2	134
FRANKLIN PUBLIC	2,448	1,322	3,770	20	226	257	131	634	3,136	17	384
GERMANTOWN	2,411	1,162	3,573	24	50	56	47	177	3,396	8	40
GLENDALE-RIVER HILLS	1,148	0	1,148	4	55	241	23	323	825	15	117
GREENDALE	1,402	817	2,219	15	89	108	83	295	1,924	18	141
GREENFIELD	2,086	1,085	3,171	36	155	179	209	579	2,592	65	203
HAMILTON	2,394	1,137	3,531	18	63	77	51	209	3,322	9	72
MAPLE DALE-INDIAN HILL	654	0	654	2	45	97	15	159	495	1	83
MENOMONEE FALLS	2,770	1,372	4,142	33	93	327	90	543	3,599	21	320
MEQUON-THIENSVILLE	2,754	1,454	4,208	17	154	248	70	489	3,719	7	171
NEW BERLIN	3,068	1,656	4,724	7	212	46	69	334	4,390	13	113
NICOLET UHS	0	1,336	1,336	5	51	189	25	270	1,066	4	127
OAK CREEK-FRANKLIN	3,125	1,720	4,845	36	197	133	257	623	4,222	40	125
SHOREWOOD	1,531	742	2,273	9	92	373	97	571	1,702	13	320
SOUTH MILWAUKEE	2,286	1,226	3,512	34	128	230	222	614	2,898	15	329
SAINT FRANCIS	885	437	1,322	14	67	86	82	249	1,073	14	123
WAUWATOSA	4,983	2,259	7,242	48	351	922	197	1,518	5,724	69	821
WEST ALLIS	5,904	3,045	8,949	111	175	347	332	965	7,984	113	244
WHITEFISH BAY	2,056	845	2,901	10	100	348	72	530	2,371	6	355
WHITNALL	1,703	871	2,574	17	157	99	41	314	2,260	21	190
MILWAUKEE	75,811	24,003	99,814	1,024	4,070	61,271	13,285	79,650	20,164	5,083	545
				1.0%	**4.1%**	**61.4%**	**13.3%**	**79.8%**	**20.2%**		
CNTY SUBURBS	34,367	17,184	51,551	417	2,089	4,244	2,043	8,793	42,758		
				0.8%	**4.1%**	**8.2%**	**4.0%**	**17.1%**	**82.9%**		
STATE	600,697	278,840	879,537	12,212	27,423	85,900	33,729	159,264	720,273		
				1.4%	**3.1%**	**9.8%**	**3.8%**	**18.1%**	**81.9%**		
220 Suburbs	52,655	26,486	79,141	527	3,057	5,344	2,464	11,392	67,749		
				0.7%	**3.9%**	**6.8%**	**3.1%**	**14.4%**	**85.6%**		
Low	19,110	9,795	28,905	278	979	1,252	1,282	3,791	25,114		
				1.0%	**3.4%**	**4.3%**	**4.4%**	**13.1%**	**86.9%**		
Middle	12,370	6,093	18,463	120	692	1,549	584	2,945	15,518		
				0.6%	**3.7%**	**8.4%**	**3.2%**	**16.0%**	**84.0%**		
High	21,175	10,598	31,773	129	1,386	2,543	598	4,656	27,117		
				0.4%	**4.4%**	**8.0%**	**1.9%**	**14.7%**	**85.3%**		

Source: Racial data is from the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts." Chapter 220 data is from the Public Policy Forum annual school report, "Public Schooling in the Milwaukee Metropolitan Area."

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Figure 7

SHARED COST PER MEMBER

School District	1980-1	1981-2	1982-3	1983-4	1984-5	1985-6	1986-7	1987-8	1988-9	1989-90	1990-1	1991-2	1992-3	1993-4	1994-5	1995-6	1996-7	1997-8	1998-9
BROWN DEER	$2,906	$3,188	$3,114	$3,794	$4,199	$4,463	$4,846	$5,157	$5,466	$5,791	$6,399	$6,895	$6,996	$7,435	$7,112	$7,685	$7,875	$8,434	$8,404
CUDAHY	$2,521	$2,801	$2,985	$3,342	$3,787	$4,064	$4,289	$4,575	$4,681	$5,086	$5,589	$6,044	$6,245	$6,366	$6,596	$6,617	$7,769	$7,669	$7,615
ELMBROOK	$2,726	$3,076	$3,705	$4,084	$4,107	$4,533	$5,074	$5,440	$5,709	$6,160	$6,670	$6,764	$6,769	$7,106	$7,217	$7,228	$7,684	$8,071	$8,035
FOX POINT J2	$3,474	$4,143	$4,603	$5,384	$5,110	$5,424	$5,437	$5,045	$5,866	$6,445	$6,086	$7,460	$8,426	$8,154	$8,165	$8,485	$8,187	$9,927	$9,642
FRANKLIN PUBLIC	$2,853	$3,176	$3,652	$3,866	$4,046	$4,404	$4,736	$4,807	$4,795	$5,042	$5,882	$5,868	$6,623	$6,724	$7,005	$7,384	$7,748	$8,062	$8,633
GERMANTOWN	$2,659	$2,985	$3,310	$3,608	$3,859	$4,260	$4,418	$4,815	$5,110	$5,437	$6,049	$6,598	$6,593	$6,692	$6,444	$6,598	$6,873	$7,173	$8,337
GLENDALE-RIVER HILLS	$3,043	$3,396	$3,573	$3,835	$4,058	$4,479	$4,534	$6,115	$4,793	$5,571	$6,080	$6,576	$7,403	$7,349	$7,904	$7,887	$7,782	$8,279	$8,704
GREENDALE	$2,689	$2,977	$3,402	$3,852	$4,112	$4,462	$4,532	$4,777	$5,064	$5,319	$5,686	$6,073	$6,396	$6,493	$6,602	$7,042	$7,605	$7,718	$8,300
GREENFIELD	$2,534	$2,929	$3,107	$3,388	$3,681	$3,837	$4,496	$4,737	$5,006	$4,989	$5,632	$5,672	$5,813	$6,292	$6,228	$6,641	$6,862	$7,085	$7,342
HAMILTON	$2,668	$2,872	$3,355	$3,348	$3,727	$4,402	$4,655	$5,080	$5,086	$5,540	$5,690	$5,743	$6,014	$6,148	$6,480	$6,877	$7,245	$7,344	$7,833
MAPLE DALE-INDIAN HILL	$2,916	$3,248	$3,854	$4,148	$4,607	$5,118	$5,886	$6,035	$6,317	$6,696	$8,242	$8,680	$9,910	$8,813	$9,362	$10,045	$10,912	$11,029	$11,368
MENOMONEE FALLS	$2,775	$3,155	$3,699	$3,773	$3,981	$4,558	$4,986	$5,028	$5,214	$5,665	$6,015	$6,217	$6,591	$6,665	$6,747	$7,163	$7,521	$7,875	$7,860
MEQUON-THIENSVILLE	$2,528	$2,835	$3,164	$3,356	$3,665	$3,913	$4,274	$4,493	$4,893	$5,325	$5,914	$5,692	$6,502	$6,708	$6,461	$6,841	$7,158	$7,404	$7,694
NEW BERLIN	$2,681	$3,105	$3,983	$4,049	$4,421	$4,951	$5,247	$5,484	$5,596	$5,971	$6,303	$6,632	$7,204	$7,341	$7,763	$8,136	$8,327	$8,738	$8,976
NICOLET UHS	$2,934	$3,407	$3,814	$3,769	$4,103	$4,746	$5,190	$5,696	$6,543	$7,784	$8,637	$9,112	$10,294	$8,984	$9,737	$10,080	$10,422	$10,874	$11,120
OAK CREEK-FRANKLIN	$2,203	$2,371	$2,654	$2,856	$3,101	$3,385	$3,793	$4,131	$4,262	$4,238	$4,749	$4,932	$5,165	$5,561	$5,542	$5,833	$6,110	$6,462	$6,767
SHOREWOOD	$2,885	$3,212	$3,499	$3,728	$3,998	$4,281	$4,665	$5,024	$5,145	$5,926	$6,028	$6,265	$6,768	$7,322	$7,458	$7,434	$7,564	$7,885	$8,166
SOUTH MILWAUKEE	$2,369	$3,079	$3,161	$3,535	$3,742	$3,924	$4,147	$4,476	$4,464	$4,582	$4,902	$4,989	$5,158	$5,347	$5,398	$5,658	$6,113	$6,231	$6,410
SAINT FRANCIS	$2,690	$2,979	$3,237	$3,479	$3,732	$3,899	$4,053	$4,133	$4,263	$4,857	$5,559	$5,191	$5,751	$6,014	$5,877	$6,235	$6,972	$7,057	$7,554
WAUWATOSA	$2,898	$3,393	$3,675	$3,928	$4,145	$4,075	$4,402	$4,510	$4,715	$4,836	$5,105	$5,288	$5,720	$5,686	$5,892	$6,264	$6,408	$6,644	$6,895
WEST ALLIS	$3,095	$3,489	$3,753	$3,859	$4,086	$4,378	$4,540	$4,907	$5,153	$5,294	$5,380	$5,563	$5,935	$6,082	$6,204	$6,550	$6,993	$7,317	$7,418
WHITEFISH BAY	$2,857	$3,066	$3,409	$3,796	$3,967	$4,370	$4,643	$4,827	$5,664	$5,885	$6,465	$6,306	$6,733	$6,727	$6,935	$6,681	$6,928	$7,737	$7,888
WHITNALL	$2,673	$3,386	$3,713	$4,122	$4,279	$4,705	$4,848	$4,758	$4,935	$5,014	$5,566	$5,702	$5,978	$6,343	$6,440	$6,515	$6,912	$7,389	$7,363
MILWAUKEE	$2,611	$2,974	$3,078	$3,180	$3,334	$3,685	$3,829	$4,014	$4,308	$4,372	$4,760	$4,947	$5,260	$5,315	$5,677	$5,645	$5,912	$6,052	$6,555
STATE	$2,347	$2,610	$2,853	$3,058	$3,266	$3,567	$3,773	$4,020	$4,287	$4,539	$4,902	$5,150	$5,496	$5,664	$5,886	$6,105	$6,438	$6,763	$7,061
SUBURBS	$2,738	$3,111	$3,488	$3,732	$3,972	$4,302	$4,617	$4,893	$5,096	$5,407	$5,809	$5,993	$6,361	$6,514	$6,627	$6,894	$7,255	$7,572	$7,809
LOW WEALTH	$2,697	$3,047	$3,328	$3,520	$3,791	$4,112	$4,354	$4,664	$4,788	$5,002	$5,348	$5,490	$5,839	$6,024	$6,153	$6,458	$6,944	$7,160	$7,412
MIDDLE WEALTH	$2,721	$3,077	$3,344	$3,722	$3,979	$4,299	$4,604	$4,851	$5,179	$5,491	$5,948	$6,187	$6,424	$6,696	$6,672	$6,862	$7,152	$7,540	$7,922
HIGH WEALTH	$2,781	$3,185	$3,708	$3,920	$4,125	$4,475	$4,861	$5,124	$5,328	$5,737	$6,154	$6,347	$6,813	$6,864	$7,044	$7,324	$7,608	$7,981	$8,121
MILWAUKEE LESS STATE	$265	$364	$225	$123	$68	$118	$56	-$6	$21	-$167	-$142	-$203	-$237	-$348	-$209	-$461	-$526	-$711	-$506
SUBURBS LESS STATE	$391	$501	$634	$674	$706	$735	$844	$873	$809	$868	$907	$843	$865	$850	$742	$788	$817	$809	$748
LOW WEALTH LESS STATE	$350	$437	$474	$462	$524	$545	$581	$644	$501	$463	$446	$340	$343	$360	$267	$353	$506	$397	$351
MIDDLE WEALTH LESS STATE	$375	$467	$490	$664	$713	$732	$831	$831	$892	$952	$1,045	$1,037	$927	$1,032	$787	$756	$714	$777	$861
HIGH WEALTH LESS STATE	$435	$575	$854	$863	$858	$908	$1,088	$1,104	$1,041	$1,198	$1,252	$1,197	$1,316	$1,201	$1,158	$1,218	$1,170	$1,218	$1,060

SOURCE: WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, "BASIC FACTS,"
(DATA REPORTED THE YEAR FOLLOWING THE DATE ABOVE; 1998-99 "SHARED COSTS" ARE THE MOST RECENT AVAILABLE.)

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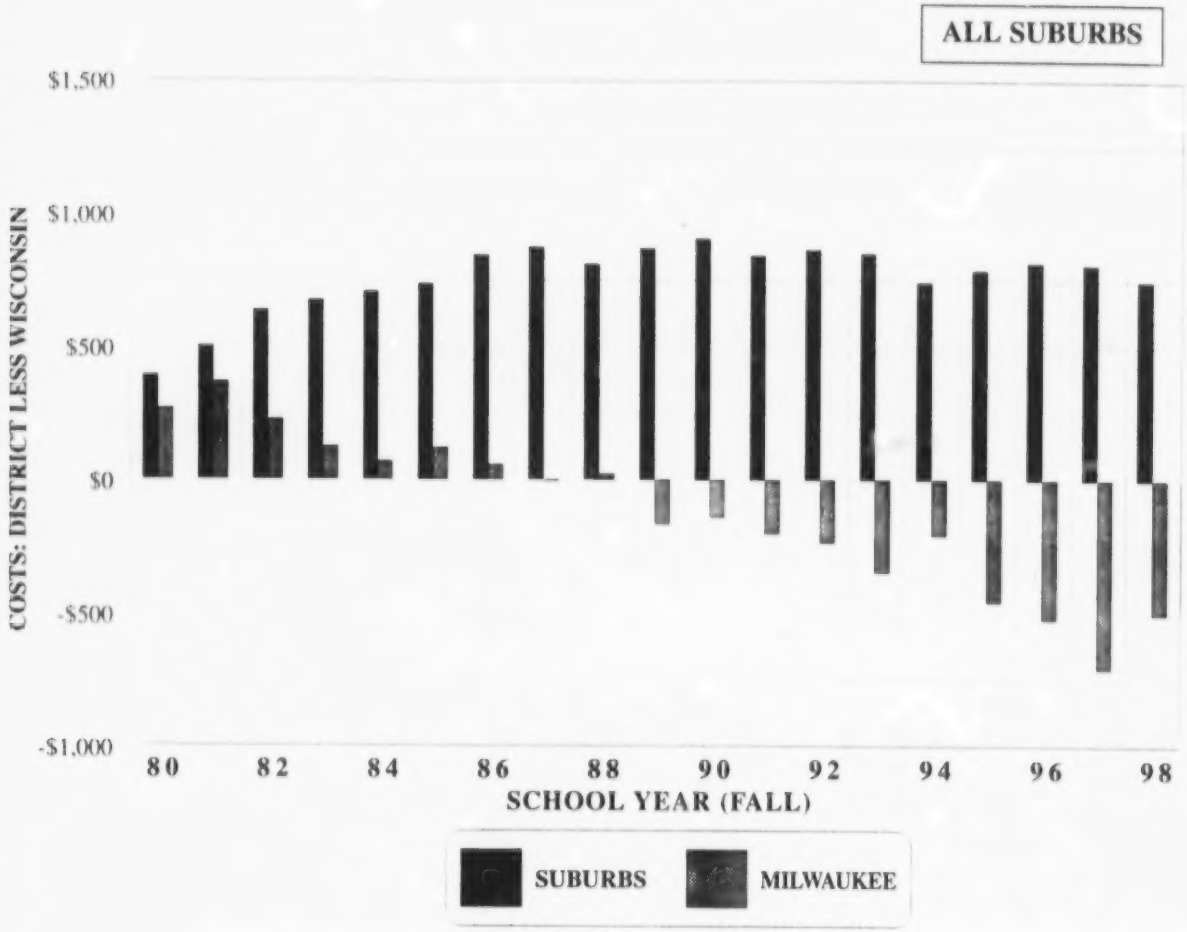
Figure 8

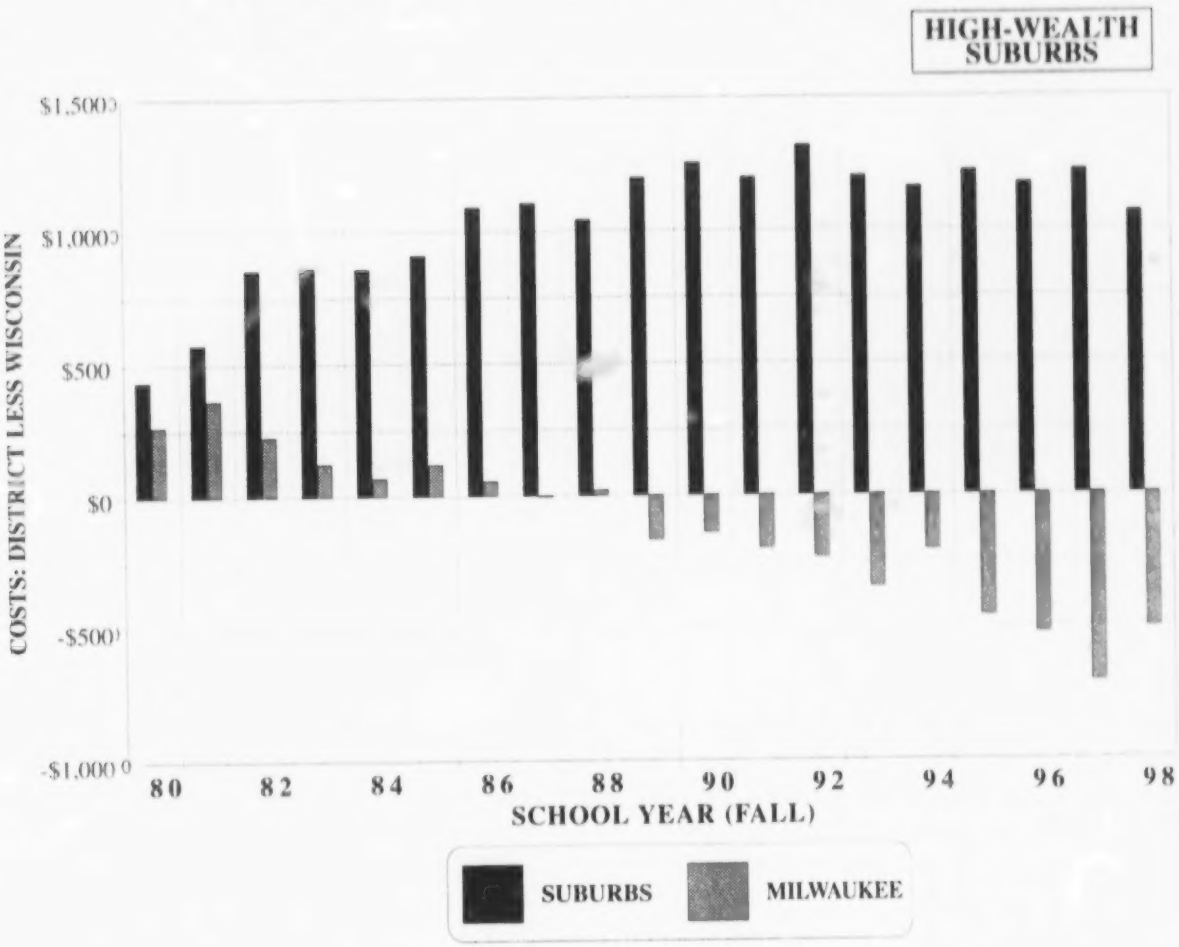
SHARED COSTS PER STUDENT
COSTS ABOVE OR BELOW STATE AVERAGE



Source: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts."

Figure 9

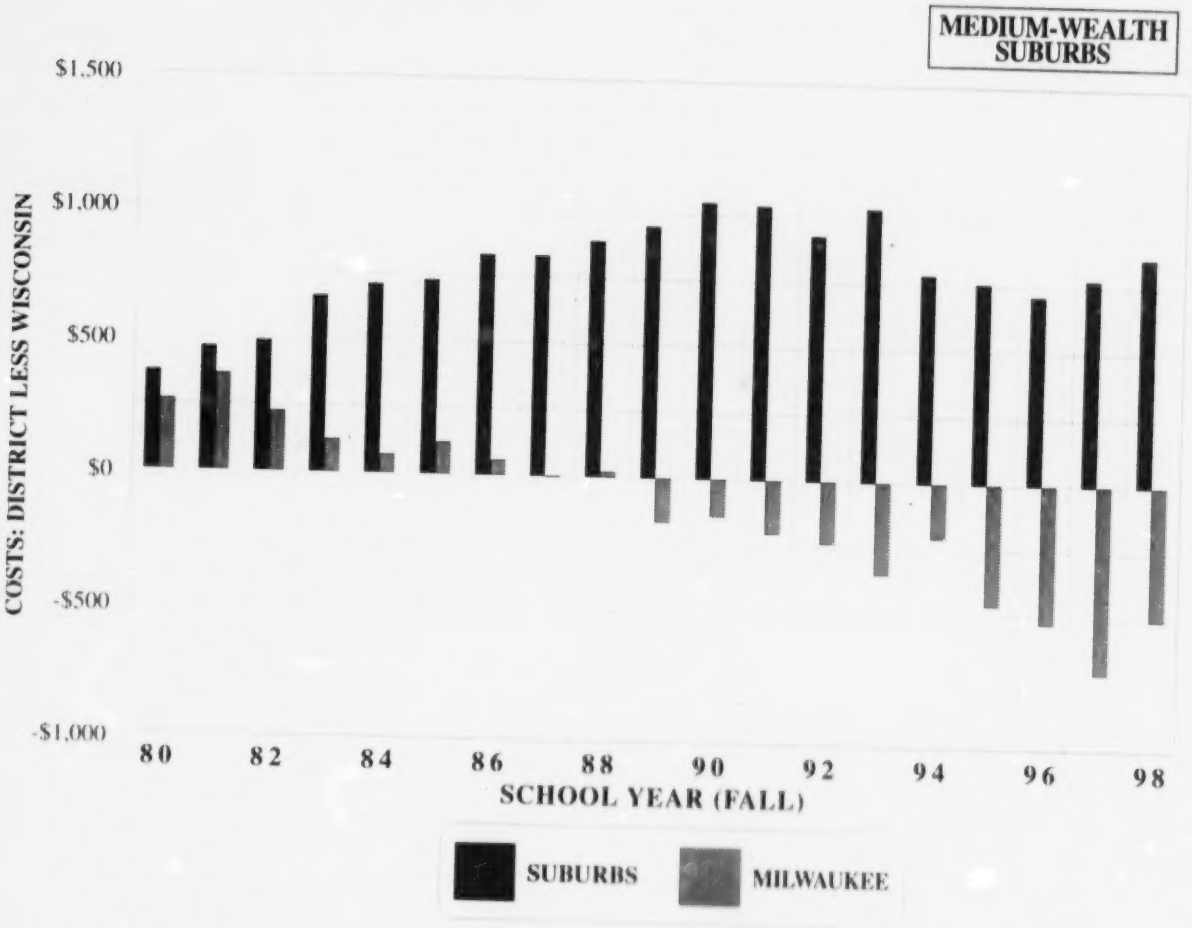
SHARED COSTS PER STUDENT
COSTS ABOVE OR BELOW STATE AVERAGE



Source: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts." For a listing of high-wealth suburbs, see page 43.

Figure 10

SHARED COSTS PER STUDENT
COSTS ABOVE OR BELOW STATE AVERAGE

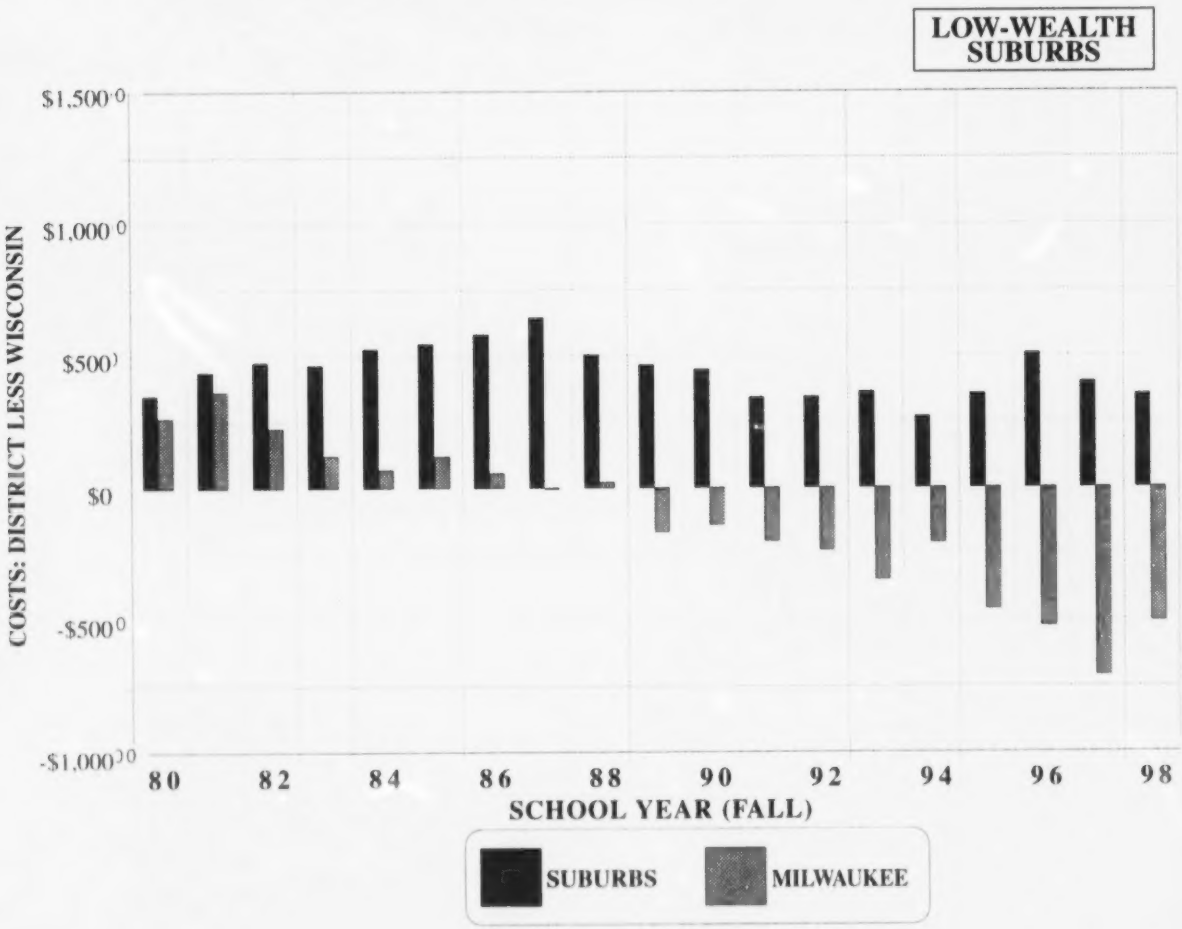


Source: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts." For a listing of medium-wealth suburbs, see page 43.

41

Figure 11

SHARED COSTS PER STUDENT
COSTS ABOVE OR BELOW STATE AVERAGE

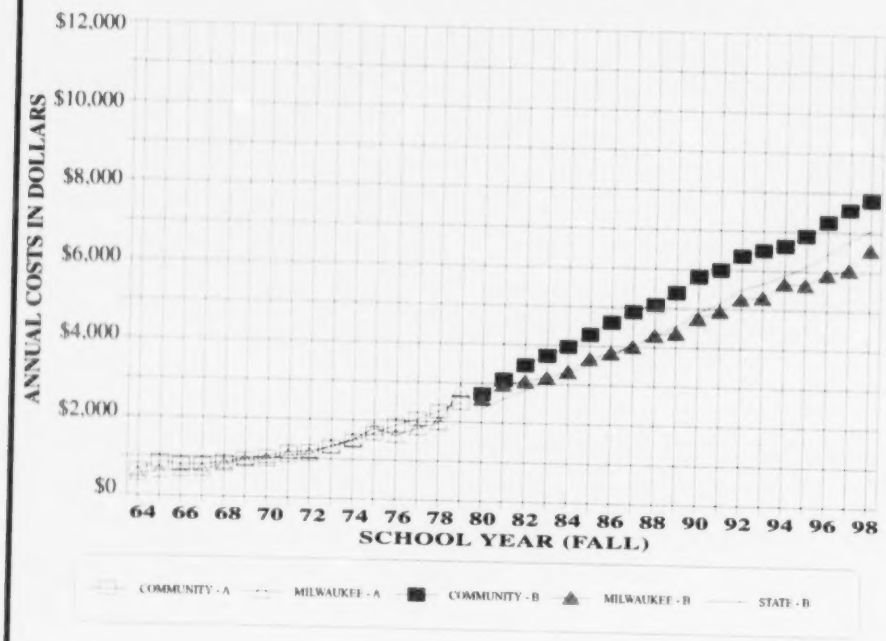


Source: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts." For a listing of low-wealth suburbs, see page 43.

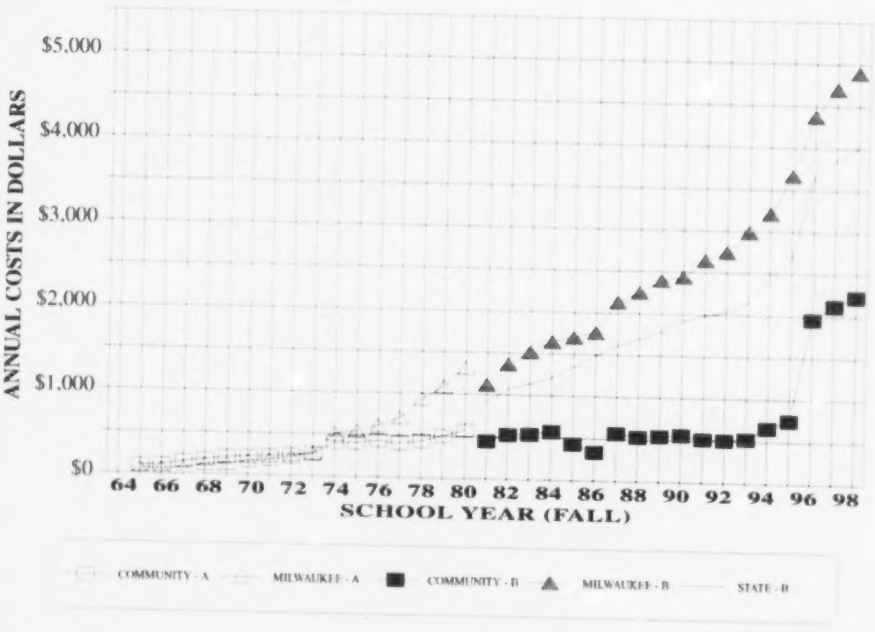
SHARED COST AND EQUALIZATION - TOTAL 1964/65-1998/99
ALL SUBURBAN DISTRICTS & MILWAUKEE

Figure 12

SHARED COSTS PER STUDENT



EQUALIZATION AID PER STUDENT



Data before 1980 are based on the Bulletin of the Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau (now the Public Policy Forum). Pre-1980 data are referred to as "Community A" for the suburbs (symbolized by a hollow square), and "Milwaukee A" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a hollow triangle).

Data after 1980 are based on the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction "Basic Facts." Post-1980 data are referred to as "Community B" for the suburbs (symbolized by a solid square) and "Milwaukee B" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a solid triangle).

Statewide data, represented by a solid line, are extracted from "Basic Facts" and available from the 1980s on.

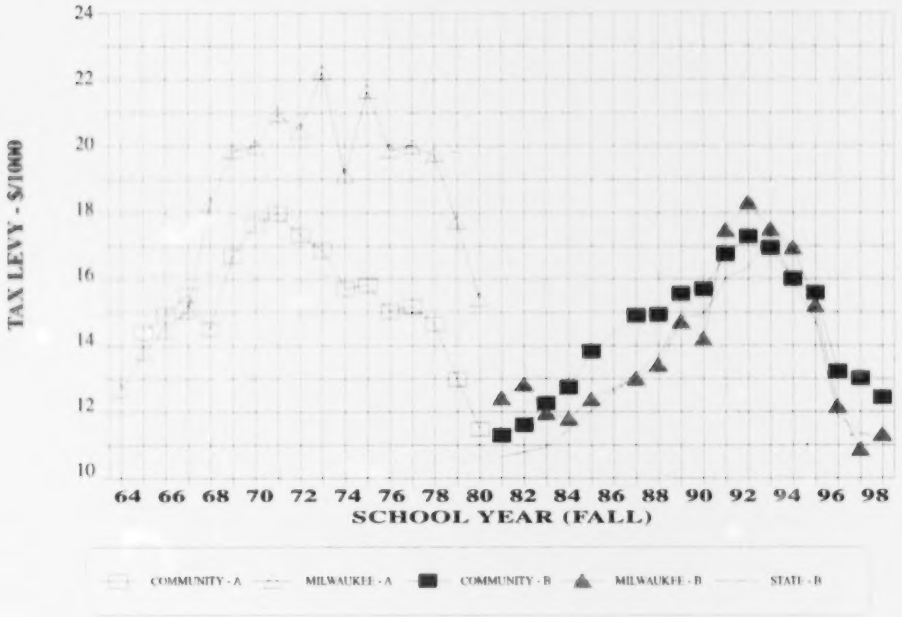
For a further explanation, see page 22.

Sources: A - Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau Bulletin
B - Wisconsin Dept. of Public Instruction - Basic Facts

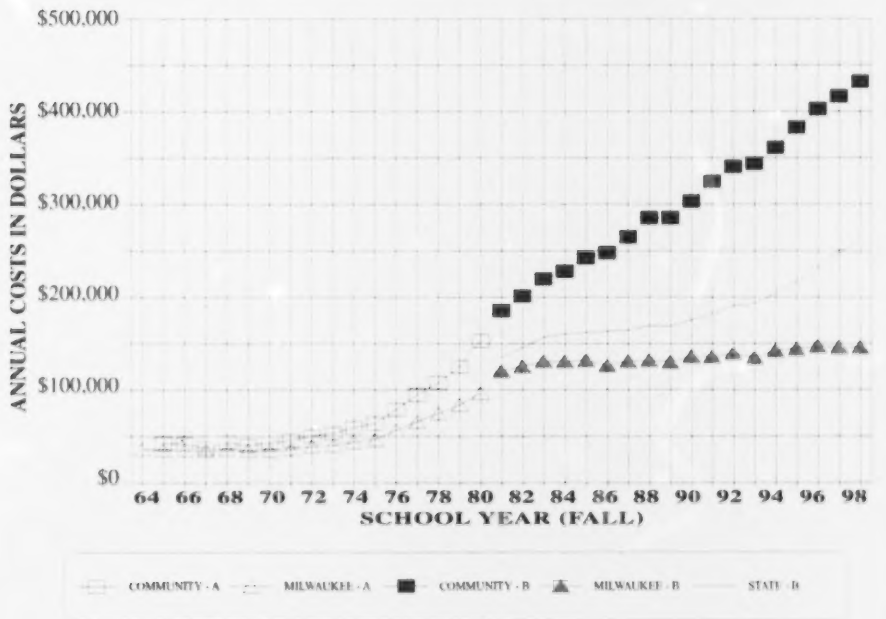
TAX LEVY & PROPERTY VALUE PER STUDENT 1964/65-1998/99
ALL SUBURBAN DISTRICTS & MILWAUKEE

Figure 13

SCHOOL TAX LEVY RATE



PROPERTY VALUE PER STUDENT



Data before 1980 are based on the Bulletin of the Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau (now the Public Policy Forum). Pre-1980 data are referred to as "Community A" for the suburbs (symbolized by a hollow square), and "Milwaukee A" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a hollow triangle).

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For a further explanation, see page 22.

Sources: A - Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau Bulletin
B - Wisconsin Dept. of Public Instruction - Basic Facts

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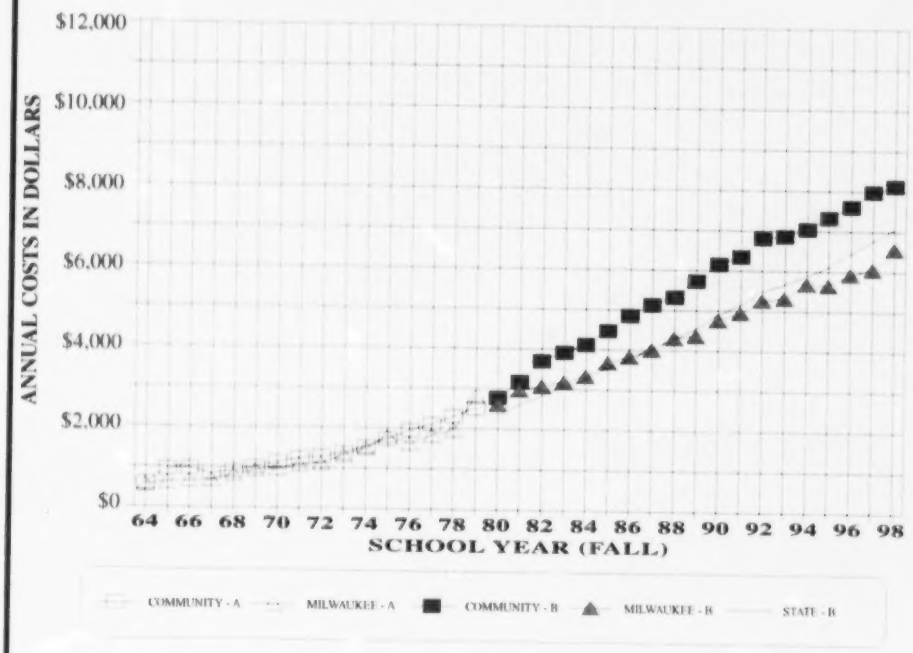
SHARED COST AND EQUALIZATION - TOTAL 1964/65-1998/99
HIGH-WEALTH SUBURBS & MILWAUKEE

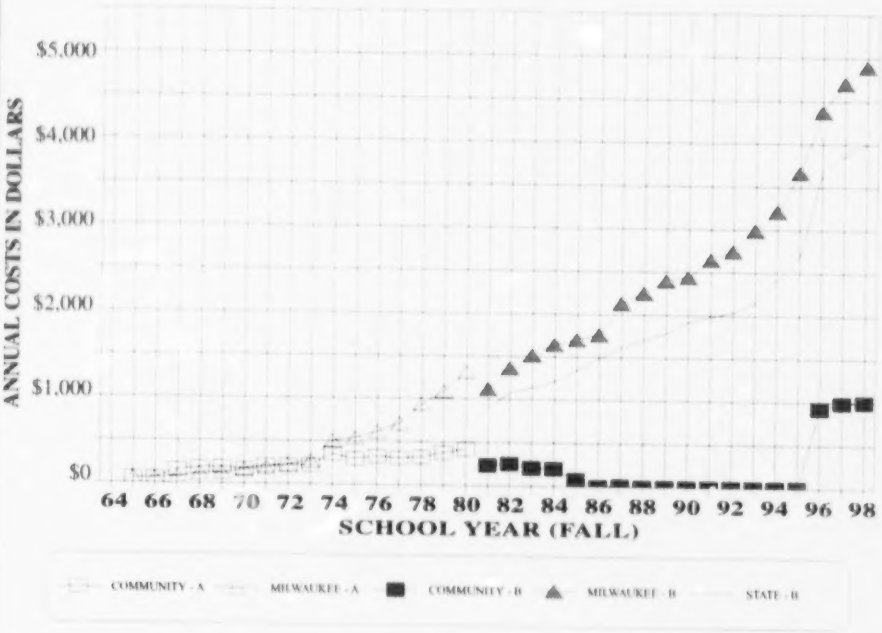
Figure 14

For a listing of high-wealth suburbs, see page 43.

SHARED COSTS PER STUDENT



EQUALIZATION AID PER STUDENT



Data before 1980 are based on the Bulletin of the Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau (now the Public Policy Forum). Pre-1980 data are referred to as "Community A" for the suburbs (symbolized by a hollow square), and "Milwaukee A" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a hollow triangle).

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Statewide data, represented by a solid line, are extracted from "Basic Facts" and available from the 1980s on.

For a further explanation, see page 22.

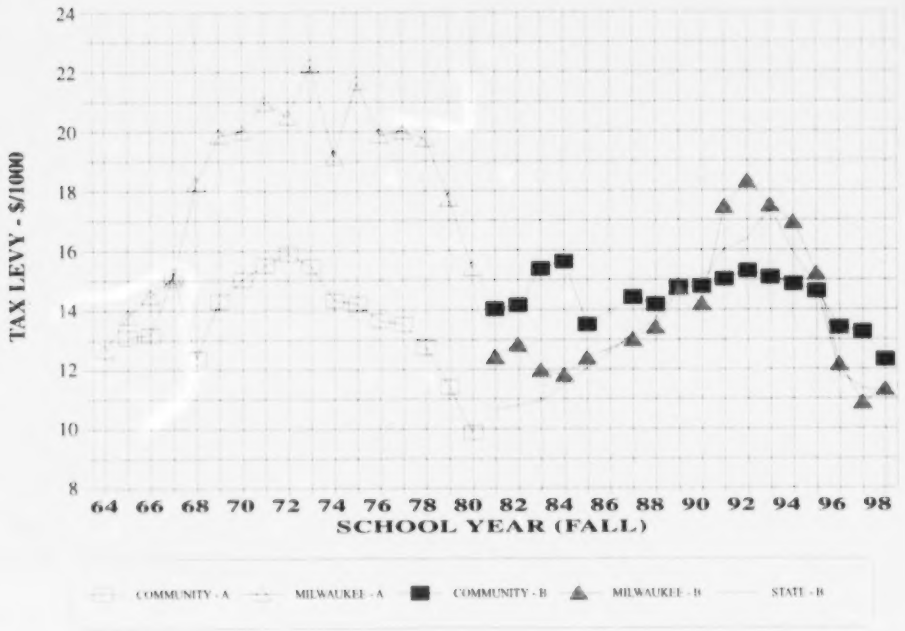
Sources: A - Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau Bulletin
B - Wisconsin Dept. of Public Instruction - Basic Facts

Nonprofit Center of Milwaukee

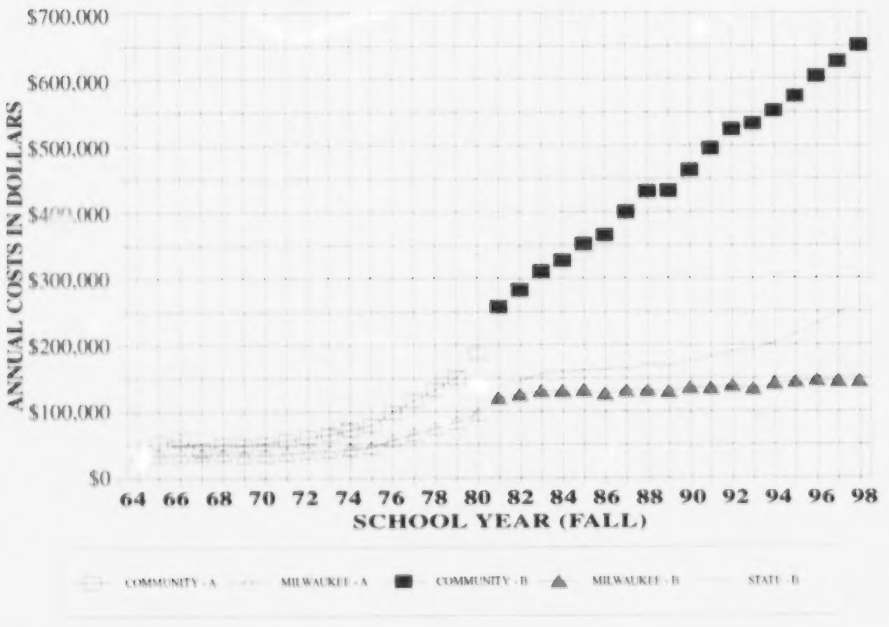
TAX LEVY & PROPERTY VALUE PER STUDENT 1964/65-1998/99
HIGH-WEALTH SUBURBS & MILWAUKEE

Figure 15

SCHOOL TAX LEVY RATE



PROPERTY VALUE PER STUDENT



Sources: A - Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau Bulletin
B - Wisconsin Dept. of Public Instruction - Basic Facts

Nonprofit Center of Milwaukee

For a listing of high-wealth suburbs, see page 43

Data before 1980 are based on the Bulletin of the Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau (now the Public Policy Forum). Pre-1980 data are referred to as "Community A" for the suburbs (symbolized by a hollow square), and "Milwaukee A" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a hollow triangle).

Data after 1980 are based on the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction "Basic Facts." Post-1980 data are referred to as "Community B" for the suburbs (symbolized by a solid square) and "Milwaukee B" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a solid triangle).

Statewide data, represented by a solid line, are extracted from "Basic Facts" and available from the 1980s on.

For a further explanation, see page 22.

SHARED COST AND EQUALIZATION - TOTAL 1964/65-1998/99
MEDIUM-WEALTH SUBURBS & MILWAUKEE

Figure 16

For a listing of medium-wealth suburbs, see page 43.

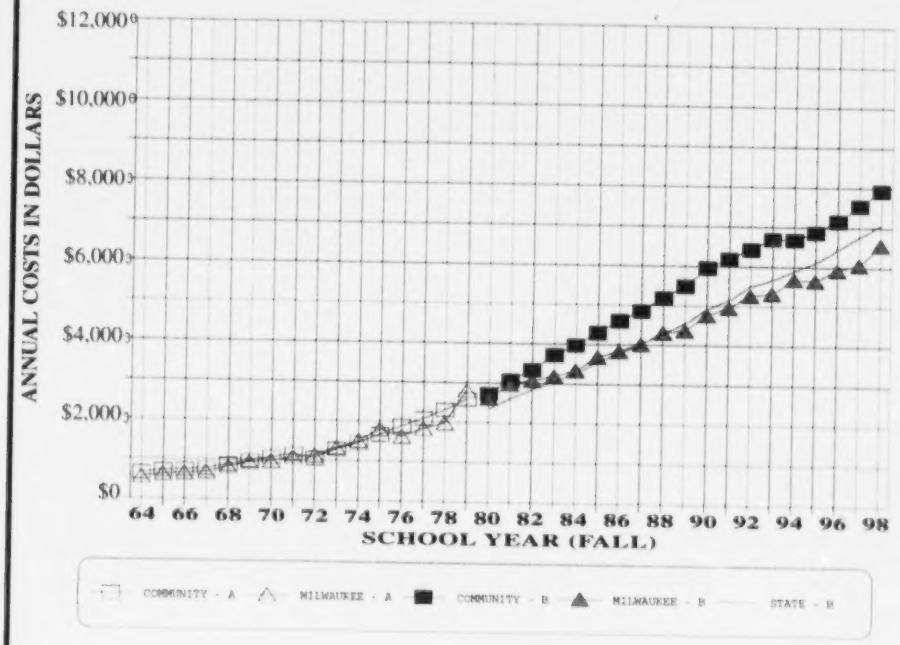
Data before 1980 are based on the Bulletin of the Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau (now the Public Policy Forum). Pre-1980 data are referred to as "Community A" for the suburbs (symbolized by a hollow square), and "Milwaukee A" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a hollow triangle).

Data after 1980 are based on the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction "Basic Facts." Post-1980 data are referred to as "Community B" for the suburbs (symbolized by a solid square) and "Milwaukee B" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a solid triangle).

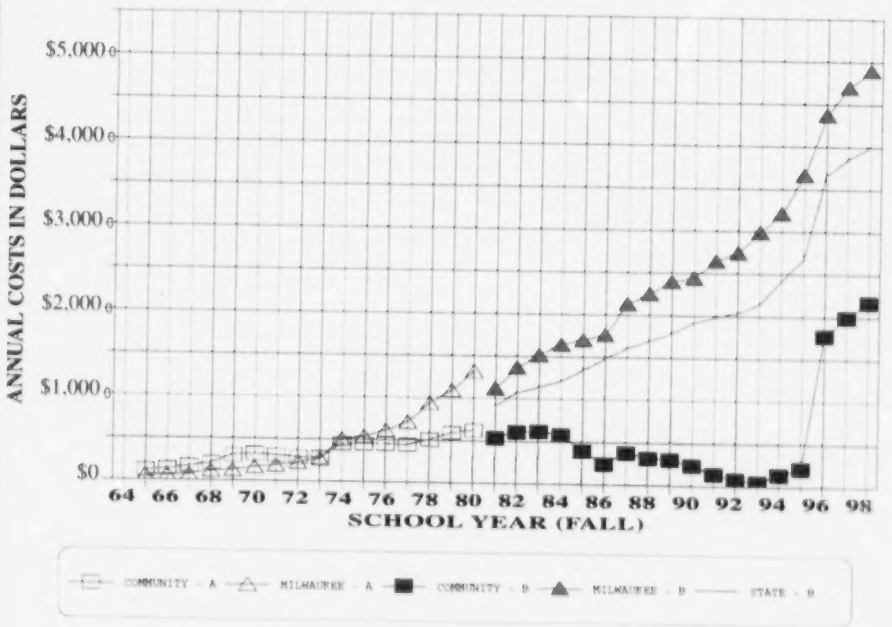
Statewide data, represented by a solid line, are extracted from "Basic Facts" and available from the 1980s on.

For a further explanation, see page 22.

SHARED COSTS PER STUDENT



EQUALIZATION AID PER STUDENT



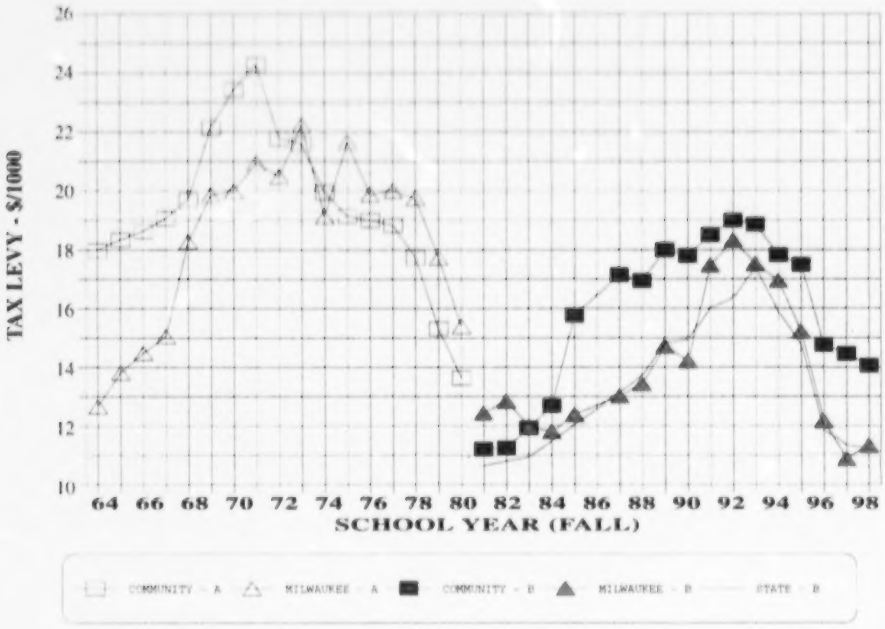
Sources: A - Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau Bulletin
B - Wisconsin Dept. of Public Instruction - Basic Facts

Nonprofit Center of Milwaukee

TAX LEVY & PROPERTY VALUE PER STUDENT 1964/65-1998/99
MEDIUM-WEALTH SUBURBS & MILWAUKEE

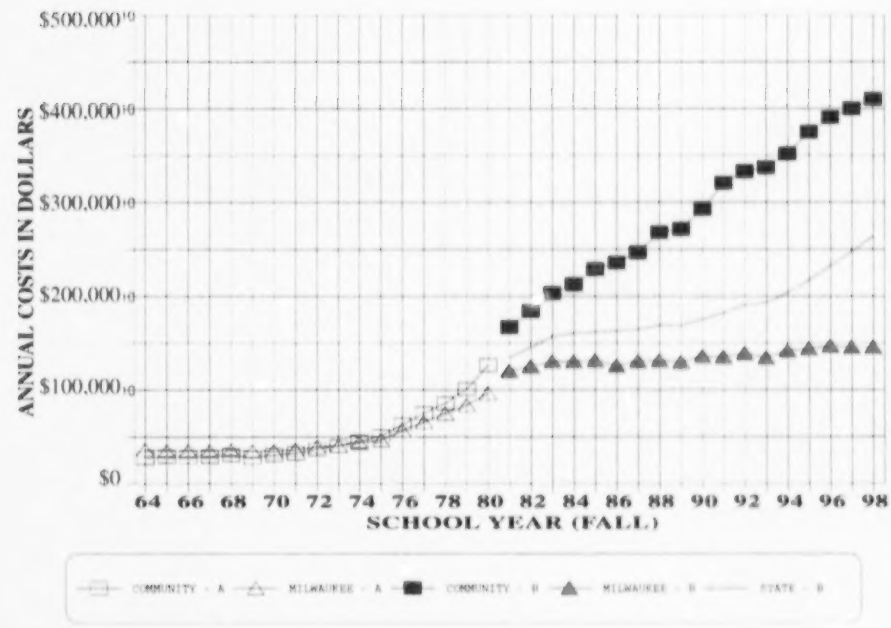
Figure 17

SCHOOL TAX LEVY RATE



For a listing of medium-wealth suburbs, see page 43.

PROPERTY VALUE PER STUDENT



Data before 1980 are based on the Bulletin of the Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau (now the Public Policy Forum). Pre-1980 data are referred to as "Community A" for the suburbs (symbolized by a hollow square), and "Milwaukee A" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a hollow triangle).

Data after 1980 are based on the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction "Basic Facts." Post-1980 data are referred to as "Community B" for the suburbs (symbolized by a solid square) and "Milwaukee B" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a solid triangle).

Statewide data, represented by a solid line, are extracted from "Basic Facts" and available from the 1980s on.

For a further explanation, see page 22.

Sources: A - Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau Bulletin
B - Wisconsin Dept. of Public Instruction - Basic Facts

Nonprofit Center of Milwaukee

SHARED COST AND EQUALIZATION - TOTAL 1964/65-1998/99
LOW-WEALTH SUBURBS & MILWAUKEE

Figure 18

For a listing of low-wealth suburbs, see page 43

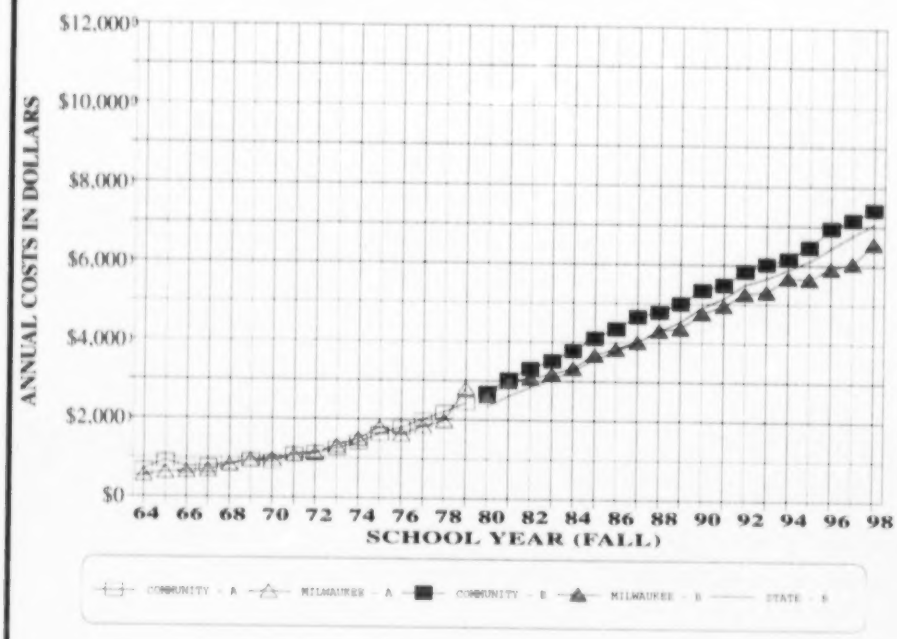
Data before 1980 are based on the Bulletin of the Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau (now the Public Policy Forum). Pre-1980 data are referred to as "Community A" for the suburbs (symbolized by a hollow square), and "Milwaukee A" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a hollow triangle).

Data after 1980 are based on the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction "Basic Facts." Post-1980 data are referred to as "Community B" for the suburbs (symbolized by a solid square) and "Milwaukee B" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a solid triangle).

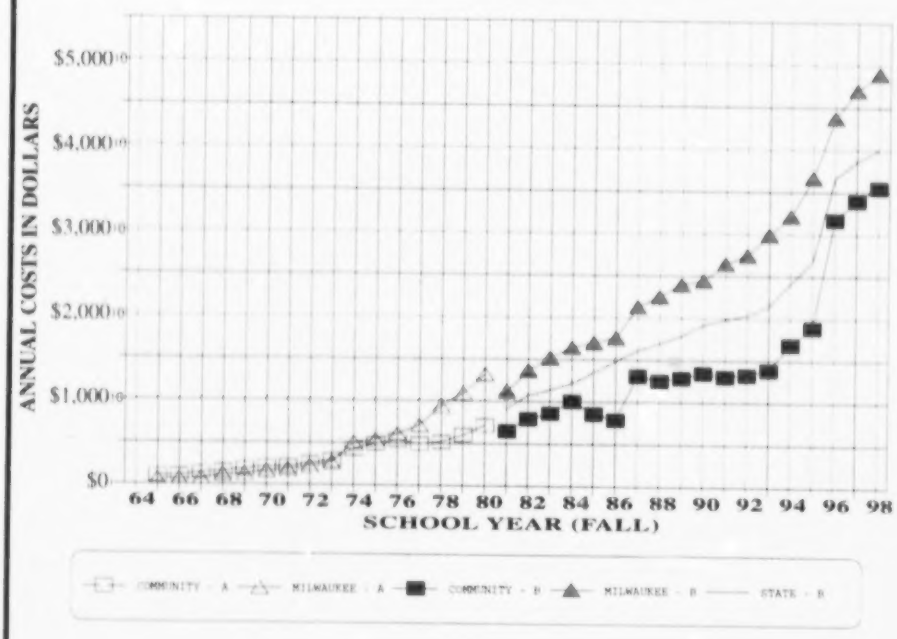
Statewide data, represented by a solid line, are extracted from "Basic Facts" and available from the 1980s on.

For a further explanation, see page 22.

SHARED COSTS PER STUDENT



EQUALIZATION AID PER STUDENT

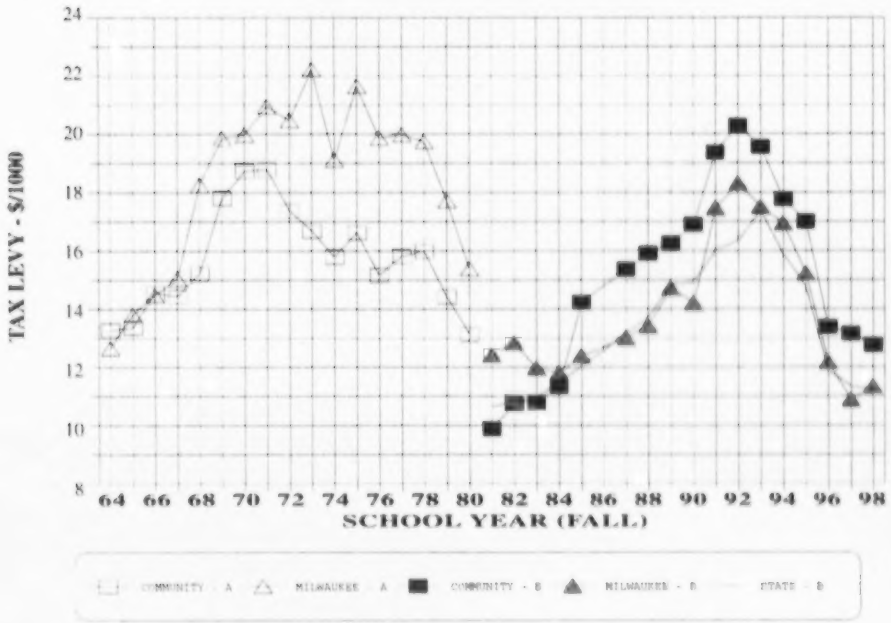


Sources: A - Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau Bulletin
B - Wisconsin Dept. of Public Instruction - Basic Facts

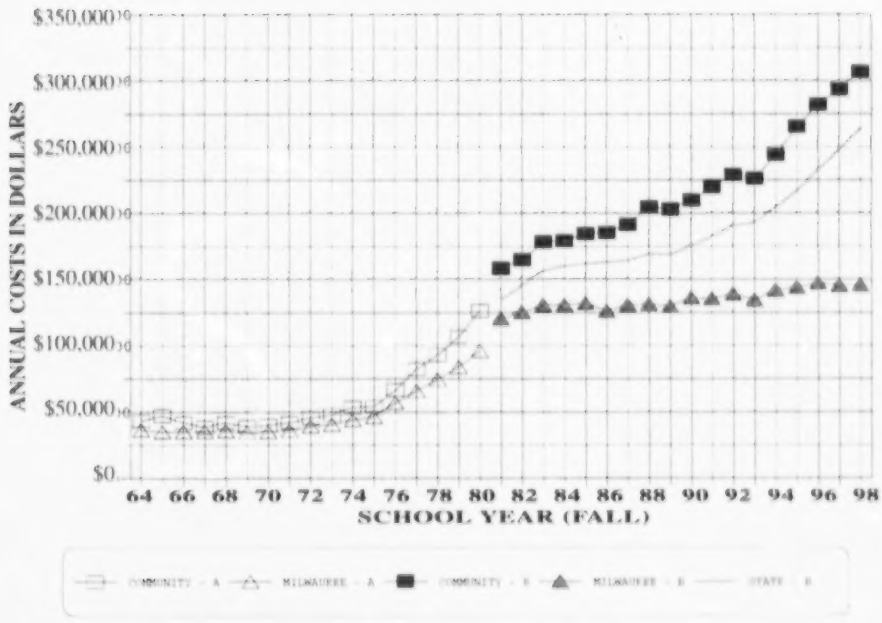
Nonprofit Center of Milwaukee

TAX LEVY & PROPERTY VALUE PER STUDENT 1964/65-1998/99
LOW-WEALTH SUBURBS & MILWAUKEE

SCHOOL TAX LEVY RATE



PROPERTY VALUE PER STUDENT



Sources: A - Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau Bulletin
B - Wisconsin Dept. of Public Instruction - Basic Facts

Nonprofit Center of Milwaukee

Figure 19

For a listing of low-wealth suburbs, see page 43.

Data before 1980 are based on the Bulletin of the Citizen's Governmental Research Bureau (now the Public Policy Forum). Pre-1980 data are referred to as "Community A" for the suburbs (symbolized by a hollow square), and "Milwaukee A" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a hollow triangle).

Data after 1980 are based on the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction "Basic Facts." Post-1980 data are referred to as "Community B" for the suburbs (symbolized by a solid square) and "Milwaukee B" for Milwaukee (symbolized by a solid triangle).

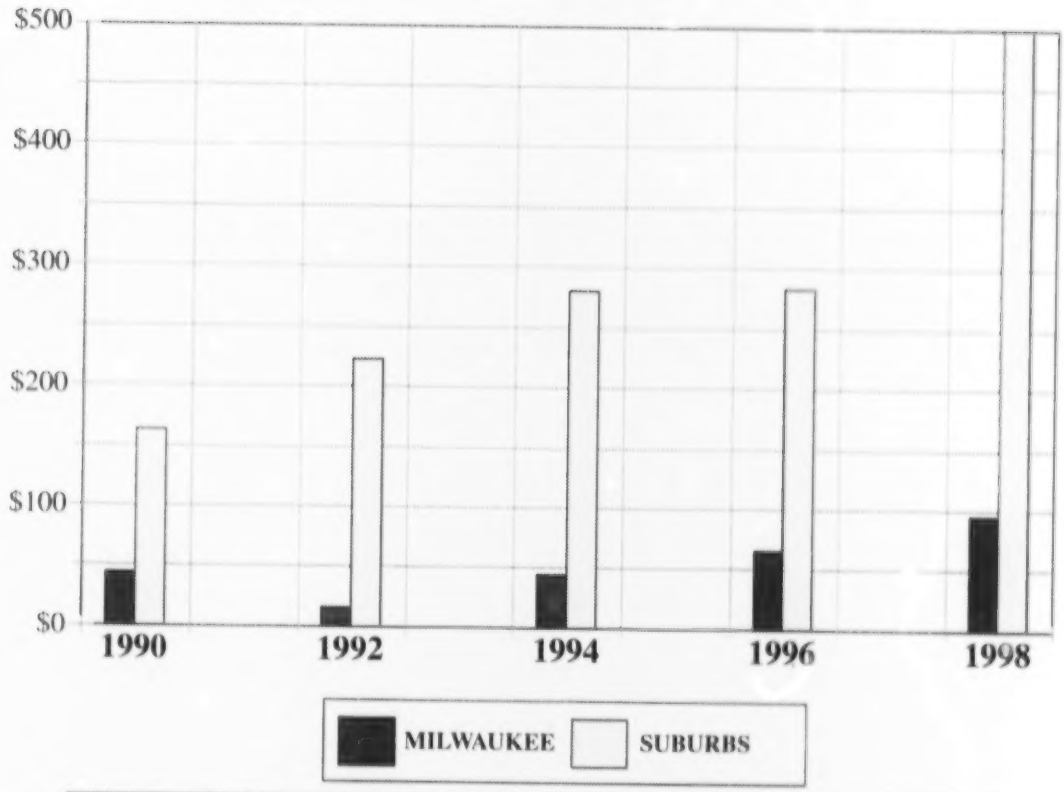
Statewide data, represented by a solid line, are extracted from "Basic Facts" and available from the 1980s on.

For a further explanation, see page 22.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Figure 20

CAPITAL PROJECTS DEBT SERVICE PER PUPIL



Source: Compiled from information from the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, made available by the Public Policy Forum.

CLASSIFICATION OF SUBURBS BASED UPON PROPERTY VALUE IN 1998-99

Figure 21

	Property Value/Student	School District
	$145,371	MILWAUKEE
LOW	$227,870	SOUTH MILWAUKEE
LOW	$229,869	CUDAHY
LOW	$252,914	SAINT FRANCIS
LOW	$318,980	OAK CREEK-FRANKLIN
LOW	$327,966	WEST ALLIS
LOW	$333,465	FRANKLIN PUBLIC
LOW	$369,075	HAMILTON
MEDIUM	$370,562	SHOREWOOD
MEDIUM	$397,857	WHITNALL
MEDIUM	$398,156	GERMANTOWN
MEDIUM	$401,022	WHITEFISH BAY
MEDIUM	$421,289	GREENDALE
MEDIUM	$428,347	GREENFIELD
MEDIUM	$466,073	BROWN DEER
HIGH	$472,859	WAUWATOSA
HIGH	$480,069	NEW BERLIN
HIGH	$516,065	MENOMONEE FALLS
HIGH	$598,981	MEQUON-THIENSVILLE
HIGH	$650,786	ELMBROOK
HIGH	$997,051	FOX POINT J2
HIGH	$1,013,697	GLENDALE-RIVER HILLS
HIGH	$1,076,320	MAPLE DALE-INDIAN HILL
HIGH	$2,032,946	NICOLET UHS

Source: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction., "Basic Facts."

Because absolute property values are not comparable across suburbs, the numbers are adjusted by the state so that all reflect 100 percent of market value in each community.

Figure 22

COMPLETE ANNUAL SCHOOL COST PER MEMBER (CASC) MINUS TRANSPORTATION 1998-1999

School District	Members	CASC/Member	Chapter 220 Students Left	Chapter 220 Students Added	Adjusted Figures Members	Adjusted Figures CASC/Member
BROWN DEER	1,593	$9,871	17	144	1720	$9,143
CUDAHY	2,730	$8,710	24	199	2905	$8,185
ELMBROOK	6,686	$9,238	33	328	6981	$8,848
FOX POINT J2	714	$12,416	2	134	846	$10,479
FRANKLIN PUBLIC	3,323	$10,728	17	384	3690	$9,661
GERMANTOWN	3,442	$9,067	8	40	3474	$8,983
GLENDALE-RIVER HILLS	1,090	$10,257	15	117	1192	$9,379
GREENDALE	2,123	$9,808	18	141	2246	$9,271
GREENFIELD	2,910	$8,361	65	203	3048	$7,983
HAMILTON	3,311	$8,665	9	72	3374	$8,503
MAPLE DALE-INDIAN HIL	571	$12,970	1	83	653	$11,341
MENOMONEE FALLS	3,645	$9,551	21	320	3944	$8,827
MEQUON-THIENSVILLE	3,987	$8,878	7	171	4151	$8,527
NEW BERLIN	4,510	$9,755	13	113	4610	$9,544
NICOLET UHS	1,196	$13,978	4	127	1319	$12,674
OAK CREEK-FRANKLIN	4,584	$7,343	40	125	4669	$7,209
SHOREWOOD	1,968	$10,598	13	320	2275	$9,168
SOUTH MILWAUKEE	3,260	$8,055	15	329	3574	$7,348
SAINT FRANCIS	1,253	$9,374	14	123	1362	$8,623
WAUWATOSA	6,159	$9,163	69	821	6911	$8,166
WEST ALLIS	8,681	$8,420	113	244	8812	$8,295
WHITEFISH BAY	2,382	$10,149	6	355	2731	$8,852
WHITNALL	2,385	$9,514	21	190	2554	$8,884
MILWAUKEE	105,242	$7,984	5,083	545	100704	$8,344
STATE	867,547	$8,025			867,547	$8,025
SUBURBS	72,503	$9,225	545	5,083	77,041	$9,152
LOW WEALTH SUBURBS	27,142	$8,576	232	1,476	28,386	$8,509
MIDDLE WEALTH SUBURB	16,803	$9,502	148	1,393	18,048	$8,855
HIGH WEALTH SUBURBS	28,558	$9,679	165	2,214	30,607	$9,576

Source: CASC data is from the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, "Basic Facts." Chapter 220 data is from the Public Policy Forum annual school report, "Public Schooling in the Milwaukee Metropolitan Area." CASC data from the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction is not adjusted to take into account Chapter 220 students, thus the Chapter 220 adjusted figures in the right-hand column.

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The Return to Separate and Unequal

Metropolitan Milwaukee School Funding Through a Racial Lens

Authors and advisory group

Michael Barndt — Dr. Barndt is coordinator of the Data Center at the Nonprofit Center of Milwaukee, a group which provides training and technical assistance to local nonprofit groups. He recently retired as associate professor of urban affairs at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Doug Haselow — A former director of government relations for the Milwaukee Public Schools, Mr. Haselow is executive director of the Association for Equity in Funding, which advocates fair school funding in Wisconsin.

William Lynch — A Milwaukee-based civil rights attorney, Mr. Lynch has represented the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in litigation involving school desegregation, publicly funded vouchers for private schools, and homeowner insurance redlining. He is also the secretary-treasurer of the Wisconsin chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Diane Pollard — Dr. Pollard is a professor of educational psychology at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Joel McNally — Mr. McNally is a newspaper columnist and television commentator in Milwaukee. His journalism experience includes a regular column in the *Shepherd Express Metro* newspaper in Milwaukee and writing for the *Milwaukee Journal* and the *Chicago Tribune*.

Barbara Miner — Ms. Miner is managing editor of the quarterly journal *Rethinking Schools*. Her journalism experience includes reporting for the *Milwaukee Journal* and *United Press International*.

Bob Peterson — Mr. Peterson is a founding editor of *Rethinking Schools* and an elementary school teacher with more than 20 years of experience. He was named Wisconsin's Elementary Teacher of the Year in 1995-96.

Kathy Swope — Ms. Swope is an editor of *Rethinking Schools*, and the performance assessment coordinator for the Milwaukee Public Schools. Her experience includes more than 20 years as a classroom teacher and extensive involvement with multicultural curriculum issues and urban education reform.

Response Essays

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Securing Our Future:
Eliminating Wisconsin's Educational Disparity

BY GWENDOLYNNE MOORE

Wisconsin's current school funding scheme has christened an intrinsically unequal educational system and initiated an educational crisis. The Legislature can no longer afford to turn a blind eye to the educational challenges associated with the poverty in MPS, as well as the other economically disfavored districts across the state. State funding must be targeted to compensate for the additional costs and needs of educating our most vulnerable children. Equal access to educational resources is a basic civil rights issue, and Wisconsin's Legislature must secure this fundamental civil right for the future of our children.

While factors such as excellent teaching, innovative programming, and strong leadership are obviously necessary to a school district's success, these factors are ultimately contingent upon a district's financial resources. Fewer financial resources signify reduced learning opportunities and unbalanced access to high-quality education. Inequitable allocation of these vital financial resources has resulted in a state-sponsored system of educational discrimination in Wisconsin, where students in property rich districts reap the benefits and students in property poor districts suffer the consequences of demographics beyond their control. As evidenced by Joel McNally and Michael Barndt's report, *The Return to Separate and Unequal*, the funding disparity between the Milwaukee Public School district (MPS) and its suburban counterparts provides a stark example of this educational inequity.

For example, per pupil spending in MPS — Wisconsin's largest, most populous, and most poverty stricken area and only "majority minority district" — falls far below that of suburban spending. Less money is being spent to educate Milwaukee's children, to provide classroom space and enhance infrastructure, and to offer other educational resources to Wisconsin's largest economically disadvantaged and historically underprivileged student population. A myriad of factors contribute to MPS's monetary shortfalls, including state-imposed caps on school district spending, the state's commitment to fund two-thirds of a school district's budget regardless of local property wealth, and politically popular efforts to provide property tax relief despite adverse effects on local schools. MPS students are thus denied equal access to

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education, inhibited by the high level of dependence on local property wealth inherent in the state's current equalization aid formula.

In reviewing Wisconsin's constitutional provision that school districts are to be "nearly as uniform as practical," the state Supreme Court reaffirmed in *Vincent v. Voight* that education is a "fundamental right," a civil right, belonging to each of Wisconsin's children. The widening disparity between MPS and the surrounding suburban school districts contributes to the violation of MPS students' civil rights. Wisconsin's Supreme Court appears inclined to agree. While the constitutionality of the current equalization aid formula was upheld in *Vincent v. Voight* by a narrow 4-3 decision, the court did recognize that the state's responsibility includes taking into account districts with disproportionate numbers of disabled students, economically disadvantaged students, and students with limited English skills. As the *Rethinking Schools* report notes, MPS leads the state in all three areas.

The court's new standard holds great promise for MPS. The Legislature must now answer the call of the state's high court and allocate funding to compensate for the additional costs and needs of educating our most vulnerable children. It is imperative that every avenue is exhausted to provide the highest quality education to all of Wisconsin's students, particularly for those whose economic situation and historical disadvantages have placed them at the greatest risk. This issue is not only a moral necessity. It is a sound investment in our future. ■

Gwendolynne Moore, the first African-American woman elected to the Wisconsin State Senate, represents Milwaukee's 4th Senate district. She is the Chair of the Wisconsin Legislative Black and Hispanic Caucus and a member of the Joint Finance Committee.

The Legislature must allocate funding to compensate for the additional costs of educating our most vulnerable children.

Separate and Unequal Education Is Thriving In Milwaukee

BY WILLIAM LYNCH AND JAMES HALL

For those who have struggled for racial equality of educational opportunity, it is not surprising that the spending gap between Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS) and its neighboring suburban school districts has widened as the percentage of students of color in MPS has increased. The study "The Return to Separate and Unequal," by Michael Barndt and Joel McNally, confirms and documents the relationship between the race of the students served and resources provided. As MPS has become increasingly identified as a "Black" or "minority" school district, resources for the education of MPS students have declined in comparison with the resources available to its virtually all-white neighboring districts.

By implementing a policy of protecting white children from attending schools with "too many" children of color, the State has assured that separate and unequal education will thrive in Milwaukee. The State, however, has an obligation to provide a basic, sound education to the children now attending MPS's schools, 80 percent of whom are children of color. Isolating and concentrating poor and minority children and then inadequately funding their education must come to an end.

The State must immediately change how it provides education to its children. Even distributing financial resources to the existing districts more equitably will not adequately address the need for children of all races and economic circumstances to share their educational experience. School district boundaries must be changed and new boundaries drawn. Children, wealthy and poor, white and minority, must be educated together. The policy of protecting white children from attending school with "too many" children of color must no longer dominate Milwaukee area educational decision making.

Differences in the property valuations of our present districts are not a valid reason to deny poor children and children of color a sound, basic, adequate education. We are a single metropolitan urban area. How the State meets its obligation to its children must reflect that fact.

Racial separation and isolation of Black and other students of color in

unequal schools has a long history in this country and the Milwaukee metropolitan area. The majority has demonstrated an aversion toward attending school with large numbers of African Americans and children of color. Although the determination of how many children of color is "too many" varies somewhat from place to place and from time to time, the reality of that aversion persists.

The means used to "protect" white children from attending school with "too many" children of color vary but have proven very adaptable. In the south, laws providing for separate schools for African-American and white children were implemented. As African Americans migrated north, government policies contributed to racially isolating them in neighborhoods. Assigning students to "neighborhood schools" became the means for "protecting" whites from going to schools with "too many" children of color. Milwaukee redrew attendance area lines and when the pace of the immigration of African Americans quickened, bused African Americans "intact" to white schools. The African-American students did not intermingle with white students in the classroom, on the playground, or at lunch.

After the federal court ordered that African Americans attend the formerly virtually all-white schools of MPS, whites avoided going to school with "too many" students of color by moving across district lines to the virtually all-white suburbs or to white private schools. Whites were welcomed, did not encounter housing discrimination, and had the economic means to make these choices.

In recent years, the white majority in Milwaukee has become increasingly assertive and the State has increased the means for whites to avoid going to school with too many children of color. Despite the recent rejection of vouchers by Michigan's and California's voters and of the Cleveland voucher program by a Federal Court of Appeals, Wisconsin is providing vouchers to attend virtually all-white private schools. The State has also enacted an open enrollment program. In 1999, one of the first acts of the newly elected MPS School Board was to change policy on open enrollment transfers to suburban public schools. As a result, over 70 percent of city resident students attending suburban schools at taxpayer expense in 1999 were white (269 of 370). Only 18.5 percent of MPS students are white. Opening the transfer program to whites has spurred dramatic growth of the program. The program has more than doubled this year to 840 Milwaukee resident transfers, a 127 percent increase. Again, over 70 percent are white (601 of 840).

At the same time that open enrollment transfers of majority students are increasing, many suburbs are reducing opportunities for students of color to attend their schools as Chapter 220 transfers. Compared to 1998, this year there are 7 percent fewer MPS children of color who are Chapter 220 transfers (5,083 compared to 4,724, a reduction of 359 students).

For example, this year Wauwatosa dropped the number of children of

Even distributing financial resources more equitably will not solve the problem. School district boundaries must be changed and new boundaries drawn.

color it accepts from Milwaukee as Chapter 220 transfers by 39, a 5 percent drop from 791 to 752 students. At the same time it increased the number of open enrollment transfers to the district by 27, a 25 percent increase from 107 to 134. Seventy percent of the Milwaukee residents in the program are white (76 of 108). Again next year Wauwatosa will increase the open enrollment transfer students it will accept by 130 (*Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, November 15, 2000). This could bring the total open enrollment transfers to 264, more than doubling the program since 1999 when MPS began approving transfer requests of white children. Also this year Brown Deer reduced its 220 enrollment by 10 students from 141 to 131, while increasing its open enrollment transfers by 43 students, from 62 to 105, 94 of whom are Milwaukee residents. Two-thirds of the Milwaukee residents in the program this year are white (62 of 94). These changes in who the suburban districts permit to attend their schools at taxpayer expense are occurring despite the fact that open enrollment payments are approximately $4,900 a year, considerably less than Chapter 220 payments. Both the Chapter 220 program and the open enrollment program are state programs which permit suburban districts to "manage" how many children of color who reside outside their districts will attend their schools.

Also, the State has expanded the means for protecting white students who live in Milwaukee from having to attend schools within the district with "too many" children of color. The State has authorized and MPS has approved and is implementing a neighborhood schools initiative which will expand options for white students to attend MPS schools in their neighborhoods without too many students of color. Because of the extreme residential segregation within the City of Milwaukee, the neighborhood school initiative will assure that MPS will again have many virtually all-white schools.

Separate and unequal education is alive and well in Milwaukee. It is thriving. ■

William Lynch and James Hall are civil rights attorneys who have represented the NAACP and others seeking to achieve equal educational opportunity for African Americans and other children of color.

William Lynch served on the advisory panel for the report by Michael Barndt and Joel McNally.

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The Struggle Continues

African Americans and the Quest for Educational Equity

BY DIANE POLLARD

Some might view racial disparities in educational resources as matters of coincidence. However, if viewed within broader historical and psychological contexts, the findings by Michael Barndt and Joel McNally document systematic racial inequities and help explain urban schools' failure to adequately serve African American and other children of color.

The failure of contemporary public, urban schools to educate African-American children effectively is part of an historical pattern documented by historian James Anderson.[1] He argues that African Americans consistently pursued education as the primary opportunity for economic, social, and political advancement in society. However, African Americans' quest for educational equity was systematically opposed by powerful segments of the White community who denied them access to educational resources and channeled them into education for second-class citizenship. These historical patterns continue today.

The predominant perspective of Western European and American psychologists has also contributed to schools' failure to adequately educate African Americans. Their psychological perspectives have tended to explain behavior by focusing on internal characteristics of individuals while minimizing the impact of the situational contexts within which the individual operates.

As a result of the denial of past and continuing racism, along with the emphasis on individual internal explanations for behavior, the poor academic achievement and high incidence of behavioral problems exhibited by many African-American students in contemporary urban schools is attributed primarily to personal and family characteristics. These characteristics, in turn, are viewed either as entirely controllable by the children and their families or easily fixed by teachers. This perspective denies the role of structural and institutional racism in influencing the attitudes of African-American children and their parents as well as in limiting teachers' capacities to change individual attitudes and behavior within school structures that are institutionally and structurally inca-

Differences in funding send clear messages to students and their families regarding the way society views their worth.

pable of or unwilling to meet the needs of the students and families they serve.

Milwaukee provides an interesting example of how this perspective can be forged into an instrument of white privilege that supports scarcity of resources in a time of affluence. State funding policies have all but guaranteed that the city with the state's largest number of students of color will be denied adequate resources. In addition, a majority of the members of the Milwaukee School Board have supported structural and institutional racism, first by a neighborhood schools initiative that will further segregate students by both race and class, and second, by ordering a new testing program that will provide a mechanism to blame these children, rather than inequitable policies, for low school performance. It will be interesting to see if the funding disparities that now exist between Milwaukee and its suburbs will be mirrored in the city as some schools become geared to serve white middle class families who are expected to gentrify parts of the city while others house poor African Americans and other students of color.

Differences in funding also send clear messages to students, and their families, regarding the way the broader society views their current and future worth. This has an impact on how the children and their families perceive and interact with the schools. Funding disparities may seem abstract but they have serious consequences reflected in the outcomes for those who, by virtue of such disparities, are being educated for second-class citizenship today. ■

Dianne Pollard is a professor of educational psychology at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. She served on the advisory panel for the report by Michael Barndt and Joel McNally.

[1] Anderson, J. D. (1988) *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

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Urban Schools Are a Regional Responsibility

BY john a. powell AND VINA KAY

The disparity in school funding that researchers Michael Barndt and Joel McNally have found in Milwaukee is not unique. Sadly, our schools have failed to provide education that is equal or equitable for some time. What is becoming clear, however, is that the disparity in education funding and quality is falling more and more along racial and spatial lines. The promise of desegregated and equal education that grew out of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision has been lost as our cities become increasingly segregated by race and class.

Urban sprawl and school desegregation efforts, including the busing initiatives that grew out of the *Brown* decision, are not coincidentally related. Rather, they are closely linked and tied to official government policies. At the same time that children were being bused to desegregate schools, government policies made it easier for whites to move out of the cities and the school districts affected by busing. As highways were extended further out of the city to new developments, whites fled. Meanwhile, numerous policies, including exclusionary zoning and mortgage financing discrepancies, discouraged minorities, particularly Blacks, from choosing housing in the newly expanding suburbs.

Fragmentation of metropolitan areas has resulted in fragmentation of resources, including education and housing resources. Between 1970 and 1990, the number of high-poverty census tracts in Milwaukee grew from 11 to 59. The difference in income levels between those living in the city of Milwaukee and its suburbs also grew. The average income level of a city resident was 82 percent of that of a suburban resident in 1979. By 1989 the ratio was 62 percent.

In the study "Hypersegregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Black and Hispanic Segregation Along Five Dimensions," Douglas Massey (1989) identified Milwaukee as one of nine cities that are "hypersegregated," meaning that the metropolitan area has an extreme level of residential segregation. Similarly, in 1991 Wisconsin was ranked as the seventh most educationally segregated state by the National School Boards Association (NSBA). NSBA found that three quarters (75.3 percent) of

Data showing the disparities between cities and suburbs are coming out everyday. We need to recognize that urban issues implicate suburbs, and that it will take large-scale initiatives to address large-scale problems.

Black students attended segregated schools. In 1997, four out of five students in Milwaukee public schools were racial minorities, and four out of five students qualified for free lunch. This data adds weight to the fact that the Milwaukee area is now one of the most economically and racially segregated in the country.

Urban students are more likely to attend schools with run-down facilities, larger classes, less experienced teachers, and high concentrations of poverty. The Barndt and NcNally study tells us that the disparity in property values and school funding tied to property taxes has intensified the inequities children face in schools.

It takes little to see that race and poverty play a central role in how education and housing resources are distributed. Milwaukee, like many other cities, has basically abandoned desegregation as a goal, claiming that school desegregation has become virtually impossible as cities themselves become increasingly segregated. At the same time, states and school districts continue to implement school reform initiatives that disregard or even contradict what we once valued in integration. Vouchers and neighborhood schools do little for those students most in need, surrounded by poverty in their neighborhoods and their schools.

The end result is a very deliberate abandonment of urban, low-income, and minority children. School reforms should and can have a positive impact, but the value of these initiatives will be limited until we address the economic and racial disparities in our schools and communities.

Data showing the disparities between cities and suburbs are coming out everyday. We need to start paying attention to those data and recognize that urban issues implicate suburbs, and that it will take large-scale initiatives to address large-scale problems. ■

john a. powell is executive director of the Institute on Race and Poverty, a strategic research and advocacy organization based at the University of Minnesota Law School. powell was national lead attorney in a major Milwaukee lawsuit against American Family Insurance involving insurance redlining and racial discrimination. As a result of the victory in that suit, insurance companies must now comply with the Civil Rights Act.

Vina Kay is senior researcher at the Institute on Race and Poverty.

Beyond Equity to Adequacy

Students in urban districts need more money than suburban students

By Whitney Allgood and Richard Rothstein

School finance questions frequently use the measure of "equity:" are we providing all students with equal school resources? A more useful concept, however, and one that is gaining increased acceptance, is the concept of "adequacy:" what is the level of funding needed to assure each student an adequate education?

This concept of "adequacy" is particularly important in urban areas, where students have far different needs than students in more affluent districts.

Our research suggests that urban areas with large concentrations of students at-risk for educational failure require programs costing far more than those in affluent districts. We estimate that the spending would have to be approximately 2.5 times higher.

These monies would be spent not only on educational programs such as smaller classes and high-quality teaching, but on programs that address the out-of-school experiences of at-risk students — such as providing before and after school programs that include one-on-one tutoring, an early childhood education and intervention program beginning in the infant years, and clinics to provide medical, psychological, and family services from birth to grade 12.

Urban schools, in particular, have larger concentrations of poor, minority, and at-risk students than other schools. There is further evidence that large concentrations of at-risk students within a school places all students attending the school, including those with no individual-level risk, at greater risk of academic failure.

In a school with adequate resources for typical children, it should be possible for the problems of a few at-risk children to be addressed without additional resources. For example, if class sizes are not excessive (i.e., they are "adequate" for typical instructional purposes), regular teachers should have the training to individualize instruction for at-risk students, if the concentration of these students is not high. In typical schools, counselors should have the ability to refer at-risk children to needed medical, psychological, and social services, if the concentration of these students is not high. It is only when the concentration of these students increases, that their needs can overwhelm the resources of reg-

ular schools.

Research suggests that multiple factors contribute to the risk of student failure. These include (but are not limited to), family poverty, racial minority status, birth to single mothers, large numbers of siblings, residence in a community where these factors are concentrated. Unfortunately, schools rarely have data on any of these risk factors. Instead, typically, the only data available are for students eligible for the free and reduced price lunch program. (Racial minority status is sometimes also available, but it is not cross-tabulated with other factors, so it is not useful for our purposes here.)

Because the lunch program data are the only data practically available, we are forced to define an at-risk school using the concentration of students eligible for free and reduced price lunch. For present purposes, we assume that schools where 40 percent or more of the students are eligible for free lunch require additional resources for adequacy, over and above the resources required for adequate regular schools.

The review of the literature suggests that schools serving large concentrations of at—risk students should be small, should offer small class sizes, and should make an extra effort to recruit and retain high-quality teachers.

Our estimate is that average class sizes for this purpose should be no higher than 15 from kindergarten through grade 3, 20 in grades 4-5, and 20 for core academic subjects in middle and high schools. We also estimate that a minimum salary increment of $10,000 per teacher, over the typical salary, is necessary to recruit teachers of superior quality..

Research on successful academic outcomes for at-risk students suggests that schools that aspire to offer services that will enable at-risk students to overcome the deleterious effects of risk exposure and achieve resilient academic outcomes will also provide a community clinic; a before and after school program; early childhood education and intervention, and summer school.

The report by Michael Barndt and Joel McNally focuses on how per pupil spending in Milwaukee compares to per pupil spending in other districts. This analysis, however, does not address the fact that Milwaukee students have far greater needs than their suburban counterparts.

To ensure that all children receive the education they deserve, the discussion must go beyond equity to adequacy. Most important, money must be provided for these adequacy programs. Equity in spending is not enough. ■

Whitney Allgood and Richard Rothstein are research associates at the Economic Policy Institute in Washington, D.C, and are working on a forthcoming report on adequate school funding. Rothstein also writes a column on education for the New York Times.

The Return To Separate And Unequal

Metropolitan Milwaukee School Funding Through a Racial Lens

Rethinking Schools
1001 E. Keefe Ave.,
Milwaukee, WI 53212
414-964-9646; 800-669-4192
fax: 414-964-7220
www.rethinkingschools.org.

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